

THREE STUDIES IN EUROPEAN AND WORLD HISTORY

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**Title**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper includes three studies in European and World History. The first is a historiography on the former Yugoslavia, exploring the various theories given for the collapse of the country since its dissolution and the wars that followed. The second paper traces the history of Calcio Fiorentino starting in Early Modern Europe in Florence under the Medici. The third and final paper is a historiography covering major works in world history.

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# REREADING THE CLASSICS: A CONTEMPORARY LOOK AT YUGOSLAV HISTORIOGRAPHY

## Introduction

There have been countless works since the breakup of Yugoslavia that have attempted to understand the factors that led to the break-up, the actors involved, and the history of the region. Journalists flooded the region when Yugoslavia became breaking news in the 1990s—that is, after the fighting began. When the fighting ended, many of them left again.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the works on Yugoslavia, both scholarly and journalistic, take sides in the conflict and try to assign blame to one of the actors. These range from the vague, such as “nationalism” or “ancient ethnic hatreds,” to incredibly specific agents like the Serbs, or Slobodan Milosevic.

There are several major ways to explain the collapse of Yugoslavia. A degree of interplay exists among the various theories and the works that address them, or give them as an answer to the question of the collapse of Yugoslavia. This overlap will certainly be addressed when it occurs. While some authors have focused on a single explanation, others have understood that this sort of a view is an oversimplification of an intensely complex situation.

This paper aims to address the major developments in the historiography of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) since its dissolution in 1991. It will address the major themes, questions, and reasons for the collapse of the federal state, and attempt to identify possible directions this research could still take by understanding gaps in the scholarship on

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<sup>1</sup> Joe Sacco, *The Fixer and Other Stories* (Drawn and Quarterly, 2009); Joe Sacco, *War's End: Profiles From Bosnia 1995-1996*, First Edition (Drawn and Quarterly, 2005); Joe Sacco and Christopher Hitchens, *Safe Area Gorazde: The War in Eastern Bosnia 1992-1995* (Fantagraphics Books, 2002). Sacco deals with the isolation felt by many former Yugoslavs after they were abandoned by journalists, and the outside world as a whole, as a recurring theme in his works.

Yugoslavia. The central arguments that historians have made since 1991 have been organized thematically into five overarching approaches; these approaches attempt to understand and explain the root causes of the Yugoslav dissolution in the 1990s by citing various causes.

### **The Longue Duree: Ancient Hatreds, Civilizations, Empires**

The *Longue Duree* approach essentially argues that conflict in the Balkans is inevitable, due to the presence of factors that far predate the SFRY. Civilizational clashes, ethnic struggles and hatred borne out of centuries of antipathy, and the vestiges of former imperial overlords are the antecedents of the modern wars in the Balkans. In a sense, this argument makes the claim that conflict is inevitable in the Balkans, in part because the people who inhabit the region know no other way.

When the wars in Yugoslavia erupted in the 1990s, the first main explanation offered by various sources was that “ancient ethnic hatreds,” which had existed in the region since time immemorial, were the chief culprit. For example, in a letter to *The Sunday Times*, U.S. President Bill Clinton made the assertion that “under communist rule, such nations projected a picture of stability, but it was a false stability imposed by rulers whose answer to ethnic tensions was to suppress and deny them. When communist repression lifted after the Cold War ended, the tensions rose to the surface.”<sup>2</sup> Clinton’s view was almost perfectly translated from the previous century—frozen, and thawed out for use, much like Kennan’s re-issue of the 1913 Carnegie report on the first Balkan Wars, that was republished for the public to understand the violence in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s through a “sobering” look at the “ever-more relevant history

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<sup>2</sup> “Online NewsHour: Clinton Op-Ed on Kosovo -- April 18, 1999,” [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/europe/jan-june99/clinton\\_4-18.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/europe/jan-june99/clinton_4-18.html).

of the Balkans.” Kennan concludes that there is “no evidence that the ability of the Balkan peoples to interact peacefully with one another is any greater now than it was those eighty years ago.”<sup>3</sup> Other works at the time only served to fuel the flame of the “ancient tribal hatreds” argument in the popular discourse.<sup>4</sup>

Though widely discredited in academic circles, there are still instances of this idea that arise. As Maria Todorova has explained, ideas of the Balkans as the “other” in Europe are deep-rooted.<sup>5</sup> The idea of the “Balkan other” comes through, for example, in Lenard Cohen’s work. Cohen intersperses his work with many opinion polls, graphs, maps, tables, and pictures to support his various arguments he makes in his work. Though his analysis is consistently good, and he recognizes that the cause for the dissolution of Yugoslavia cannot be placed on any one problem, he admits that perhaps the most fundamental issue facing Yugoslavia was “to resolve outstanding, albeit temporarily submerged, interethnic grievances and to engender a substantial basis for long-term interethnic tolerance...[combined with] the particular circumstances and traditions endemic to the Balkans...unleashed extremely violent interethnic strife.”<sup>6</sup> Following a series of quotes from (former) Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, who was jailed under Tito for espousing Muslim nationalism, Cohen concludes that the lack of a coherent Yugoslav identity was due to Yugoslavs rejecting a communal identity in favor of their “superficially or partially eradicated” national and religious ideologies. And so, Cohen concludes that while there

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<sup>3</sup> George Frost Kennan, *The Other Balkan Wars* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1993), 1-16.

<sup>4</sup> Kennan, *The Other Balkan Wars*; Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History* (New York: Picador, 2005); Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). See the further discussion of Todorova’s ideas on pp. 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> Lenard J. Cohen, *Broken Bonds: Yugoslavia's Disintegration And Balkan Politics In Transition, Second Edition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 328-329.

were concrete factors that led to the dissolution of Yugoslavia, because of “the Balkan region’s traditional proclivity for ethnoreligiously based violence...an explosion of intercommunal hatred and savagery was hardly surprising.”<sup>7</sup>

Another line of argumentation claims that Yugoslavia developed like a multiethnic empire in the mold of the Austro-Hungarian or Ottoman Empire, and that Tito was in fact “the last Hapsburg.”<sup>8</sup> He was the “supranational arbiter in interethnic conflicts” and did not favor any particular group; more importantly, he was *perceived* to have governed according to his principles and without any particular national favoritism.<sup>9</sup> Yugoslavia managed to stay together after the other multiethnic empires in Europe had collapsed, and finally expired after “the last Hapsburg” died. Tito, the individual, is the glue that connects these two eras in this account. This explanation fails to fully explain why Yugoslavia collapsed, let alone why it descended into bloody internecine struggles. In addition, there is no indication of why this multiethnic empire managed to stay together after others had ended, other than the talismanic Tito keeping it alive.

Political scientist Samuel Huntington hopes to explain why the wars in the former Yugoslavia have been so violent in his 1993 essay, “The Clash of Civilizations?”<sup>10</sup> He projected that in the wake of the end of the Cold War, nation-states would continue to be the dominant political actors on the global stage, and that “the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations.” Huntington defines the term “civilization”

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 332-333.

<sup>8</sup> Dejan Jovic, *Yugoslavia: A State That Withered Away* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 30-31. Jovic references Elie Kouderie, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993) as the principal architect of this argument.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 31. Ironically, Tito had actually been born in Austria-Hungary, and even fought on behalf of the Hapsburgs against the Russian empire in the First World War. He was a prisoner in Russia during the October Revolution, where he would be exposed to the ideology which he would devote the rest of his life to.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?,” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 23-24.



as “the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have...it is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people.”<sup>11</sup> This differs from a “nation” in that, as Huntington explains, a village in Italy and a village in Germany will share European characteristics that sets them apart from Arab or Chinese communities. In the past, global conflicts had been mainly economic and ideological, and since 1793, they had been primarily conflicts between Western civilizations; this would change in this new era, proposed Huntington, when “the peoples and governments of non-Western civilizations [would] no longer remain the objects of history...but join the West as movers and shapers of history.”

Effectively, Huntington is arguing that the division of Yugoslavia is simply, albeit belatedly, following in the footsteps of other polyglot empires—but his argument comes with a twist. He argues that conflict in Eastern Europe is thus inevitable after the fall of its “ideologically defined states,” and Bosnia is the example he calls on from the former Yugoslavia to elucidate his theory.<sup>12</sup> Conflict is inevitable, according to Huntington, because these different civilizations do not share any common characteristics which could help to avoid conflict. They are fundamentally opposed, and have been for centuries. Following on this idea, Ivo Andric’s famous novel *The Bridge on the Drina* seems to agree with Huntington’s thesis. The novel uses the familiar metaphor of the Balkans as a bridge between different empires, and presents the argument that the violence and conflict in the former Yugoslavia are, to a large degree, the result

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 29.

of these various empires competing with one another over centuries in the lands that would later become Yugoslavia.<sup>13</sup>

Maria Todorova's assertion that the West sees the Balkans as primarily developing, rather than a static, backward region would seem to validate that observation. She also proposes that the view expressed by Huntington, Kaplan, and Kennon, among others, all fall into her concept of "Balkanism." Todorova explains that "Balkanism" is similar to Edward Said's famous concept of "Orientalism" but differs slightly. The most important difference is that the Balkans are not considered rich, exotic, or desirable, but rather poor, backward, and inferior.<sup>14</sup> Todorova also claims that while differing perceptions of the imperial legacies have dominated scholarship on the region, there has been no consensus on what those legacies are. In her view, the problem is that the wrong type of *longue duree* approach has been used. Rather than simply re-using old arguments in the vein of Kennon's re-hashed 1913 Carnegie Report, this historical legacy should be taken into account of any analysis of the Balkans to further Western understanding of the region.

### **National Ideologies, Legacy and Memory**

National ideologies and nationalism have been seen by many as a key component to the violent dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. How memory was shaped after the end of WWII was crucial in the construction of a national memory for each republic; these memories would become increasingly at odds as time progressed, stressing the suffering of each republic over the other, thereby creating a perverse game of one-upmanship of who suffered more. The legacy of

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<sup>13</sup> Ivo Andric, *The Bridge on the Drina* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1977).

<sup>14</sup> Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 11-20; Maria Todorova, "The Trap of Backwardness: Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern European Nationalism," *Slavic Review* 64, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 140-164.

the first, failed, Yugoslav state meant that when the second was created it had to be seen as different in order to be accepted. Memory became a powerful tool as the end of the Yugoslav state neared, and was used by the varying groups to underscore their own agenda at the expense of others.

Some observers have argued that the Serbs, having had their own medieval empire and being numerically the largest South Slav group, assumed all along that they would dominate a united Yugoslavia as a form of a Greater Serbia. This notion is in many respects the legacy of the first Yugoslav state.<sup>15</sup> Croatian nationalism flowered in the Nineteenth Century Illyrian movement as a response to the perceived Hapsburg domination and unfair treatment of Croatia. Slovenes and Croats had wanted a union of southern Slavs in order to break away from the Hapsburg Empire; ironically, it was this potential union which would later be touted as the last “missed opportunity” to retain a Yugoslav state.<sup>16</sup> Mark Biondich argues that it is not in fact important whether or not the first Yugoslav state was a failure, but rather “the widespread *perception* of failure.”<sup>17</sup> Biondich argues this point convincingly, and correctly. By the time the Communists were attempting to organize a Yugoslav movement, the memory of the “failed” inter-war state was important; they gained legitimacy by, again, the *perception* that they were organizing Yugoslavia fundamentally differently. The perception of failure of the first Yugoslav state was so complete that the LCY had to prove they were different to the population.

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<sup>15</sup> Mark Biondich, “The Historical Legacy,” in *Confronting The Yugoslav Controversies*, ed. Charles W. Ingrao (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009).

<sup>16</sup> Dejan Jovic, “The Slovenian-Croatian Confederal Proposal: A Tactical Move or an Ultimate Solution?,” in *Confronting The Yugoslav Controversies*, ed. Charles W. Ingrao (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 249-276.

<sup>17</sup> Mark Biondich, “The Historical Legacy,” in *Confronting The Yugoslav Controversies*, ed. Charles W. Ingrao (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 65.

The legacy of the two world wars affected the various nations of Yugoslavia differently, which is to say they did not share the same experiences, and there was no coherent, Yugoslav narrative implemented across the state. This has to do with the nationalities policy enacted by the communists at the end of the war, which gave the republics a great deal of autonomy in harnessing the memories of the wars by developing scholarship and school curricula, resulting in multiple, independently formed national narratives. Stevan K. Pavlowitch, in his thoughtful essay “The Legacy of the Two World Wars,” argues that as the wars were experienced differently by the diverse peoples of Yugoslavia, and the republics were in charge of their own education curricula, the historiography of the two wars, especially the Second World War, “flowed from Belgrade and from Zagreb in two ever more different directions, stressing the suffering of Serbs and Croats respectively.”<sup>18</sup> The Serb-centered interpretations focused on the role that Croats played as a part of the invading Austro-Hungarian army which invaded and occupied Serbia during the First World War, the genocide carried out on Serbs by the wartime Ustase government in the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatske*) during WWII, and the subsequent marginalization of Serbs in the SFRY—which was led by the Croat Tito. The Croatian perspective emphasized the Serb-dominated first Yugoslav state and the Serb domination of the SFRY—in particular the JNA (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*), the Yugoslav military.

Historian William Hagen goes back deeper into the history of the region to find the roots of the Yugoslav collapse. He argues that the Ottoman Empire is to blame. Under Ottoman rule,

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<sup>18</sup> Stevan K. Pavlowitch, “The Legacy of the Two World Wars,” in *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe*, eds. Jasna Dragovic-Soso and Lenard J. Cohen (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 87.

the subject populations were organized by religion, which meant that these population groups did not need to live in close proximity, which led to “great dispersion and intermixture” of ethnic groups.<sup>19</sup> Due to the formation of several south Slav states, there was no drive to nation-statehood in the twentieth century, and eventually ethnic groups pined for their own state--the idea of a “Greater Serbia,” for example, never quite disappeared after the 1840s. During the communist years in Yugoslavia, anyone who felt disaffected or slighted by the regime naturally fell back upon ethnic nationalism as the solution to the communist problem.<sup>20</sup> In this group fell many Serb nationalists who resented the fact that, in Tito’s Yugoslavia, their influence was diminished. They were the majority ethnic group in Yugoslavia, and felt aggrieved by the fact that smaller nations were allowed equal political influence. Although Tito managed to keep this sentiment beneath the surface, it eventually boiled over after his death.

Though not the first, one of the key agitators of the “nationalism argument” is the historian Ivo Banac, who wrote one of the seminal works on the Yugoslav national question, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, before the SFRY collapsed. The root cause of national instability in Yugoslavia, Banac argued, was what he termed “expansive Serb assimilationism.”<sup>21</sup> Banac posits that the Serbian quest for hegemonic domination of the South Slavs started with linguistics and continued into the political arena. Banac uses the example of Vuk Karadzic’s linguistic definition of all South Slavs as *stokavian* speakers to demonstrate Serbian hegemonic tendencies. Others have stressed, more broadly, the incompatibility of the national ideologies of

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<sup>19</sup> William W. Hagen, “The Balkans' Lethal Nationalisms,” *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 4 (1999), 52.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>21</sup> Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 104.

Serbia and the “other two state-building nations—the Croats and the Slovenes.”<sup>22</sup> There were attempts to reconcile the differences and continue within a unified state from various groups within Yugoslavia, but compromise could not be reached, and the state pushed ever closer to the brink of destruction.<sup>23</sup> Intellectuals and politicians alike could not find a common way forward for the state; locked in disagreement, nationalist rhetoric increasingly took center stage and made compromise more difficult to come by.

Lenard Cohen argues that nationalism was harnessed by the Communist elites of the various republics—not just the Serbs—when they were unable to find a new way to coexist peacefully. The long-term causes of the Yugoslav dissolution were from long-standing ethnic and religious animosities—in which the memories of brutal internecine conflicts of the Second World War were particularly significant—and the subsequent failure of the Communist leadership to address them constructively after they had consolidated power.<sup>24</sup> Cohen’s argument has to be taken into account, although Ivo Andric’s “The Bridge on the Drina” insists that while there were tensions, these were a result of the various foreign empires which had imposed themselves on the region. Thus, the conflicts are not endemic to the region, but rather a result of foreign imposition on the peoples in Yugoslavia.<sup>25</sup>

Clearly, tensions predated the establishment of the communist Yugoslav state after the Second World War. Where those tensions came from is difficult to place; regional and cultural differences, combined with the varying experiences and histories of the regions and peoples,

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<sup>22</sup> Jasna Dragovic-Soso and Lenard J. Cohen, *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007), 6.

<sup>23</sup> Jasna Dragovic-Soso, “Rethinking Yugoslavia: Serbian Intellectuals and the ‘National Question’ in Historical Perspective,” *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (May 2004), 15-42.

<sup>24</sup> Cohen, *Broken Bonds*.

<sup>25</sup> Andric, *The Bridge on the Drina*.

makes it difficult to ascertain what the root causes are. Andric's novel, which was written during World War Two, depicts a sense of unity that could bridge cultural, religious, and linguistic differences among the various Yugoslav nations. That the state lasted as long as it did was a testament to those involved, argues Sergej Flere, because there was so much conflict and ethnic tension at the time the SFRY was created.<sup>26</sup> Ethnic identities were allowed to flourish in the years following the war, which helped smooth the initial transition into the new communist state. As central state control was relaxed, autonomy in the republics increased over time; rather than making nationalist groups happy, it only served to make their calls for more independence and autonomy grow louder--examples include the fall of Aleksandar Rankovic, and the Croatian Spring--and prevented the construction of a true, lasting Yugoslav identity.<sup>27</sup>

Paul Lendvai agrees that it is appropriate to draw links between the national tensions that existed from the first Yugoslav state, which ended in 1941 with the Axis invasion, and those which precipitated the end of the SFRY in 1991. He argues that the same tensions which existed in the first Yugoslavia did indeed plague the most recent iteration, and that the bloodlettings in the Second World War played an important role; memory of the first Yugoslav state and its failures, and memories of the violence and collaboration during World War Two were also significant and in fact, were to a large degree responsible for national tensions which were far more widespread and deep-seeded in 1991 than they were in 1941.<sup>28</sup> Stevan K. Pavlowitch agrees that these "wartime wounds went unhealed in the hope that they would eventually

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<sup>26</sup> Sergej Flere, "Explaining Ethnic Antagonism in Yugoslavia," *European Sociological Review* 7, no. 3 (1991), 183-193.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Lendvai and Lis Parcell, "Yugoslavia without Yugoslavs: The Roots of the Crisis," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 67, no. 2 (April 1991), 251-261.

disappear,” but they did not, and their ghosts would return to haunt Yugoslavia half a century later.<sup>29</sup>

### **Political and Intellectual Agency**

The role of various personalities has received a great deal of attention, and in particular the role of two individuals: Josip Broz Tito and Slobodan Milosevic. Some authors tend to overstate the importance of individuals; others tend to play down the role of individual agency and focus instead on larger structural forces, which might include the ideology of the LCY, state institutions, or the SFRY’s nationality policy. This is part of a larger debate among historians who choose to privilege the agency of individual political actors, while others choose instead to emphasize the structures and institutions involved.<sup>30</sup> The “cult of personality” approach conjures up both the successes and failures of the individuals involved in events, and argues that without them, events would have turned out drastically differently. Some first-hand accounts, written after the collapse of the SFRY, place the blame at the feet of the individuals involved, primarily Slobodan Milosevic.<sup>31</sup> Milosevic seems to be a rather obvious villain, and an easy scapegoat for the immediate problems that consumed Yugoslavia, but that is a rather short-sighted view of the problem, focusing on the symptom rather than the root cause of the problem.

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<sup>29</sup> Stevan K. Pavlowitch, “Who Is “Balkanizing” Whom? The Misunderstandings between the Debris of Yugoslavia and an Unprepared West,” *Daedalus* 123, no. 2 (Spring 1994), 206.

<sup>30</sup> Jovic, *Yugoslavia*, 28-30. Jovic outlines the debate between the two positions that took place among historians in the 1980s, and dealt with personal versus structural responsibility in the Final Solution during WWII. See Richard Breitmann, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution*, and Christopher Browning, *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution*.

<sup>31</sup> Zimmerman, Warren, “The Last Ambassador: A Memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia,” *Foreign Affairs*, 74, no. 2 (Mar-Apr 1995), 2-20; and Drnovsek, Janez, “Riding the Tiger: The Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 17 no. 1 (Spring 2000), 57-63.



Any discussion of personalities in Yugoslavia begins with one man. Tito was always seen as a supra-national leader, and according to Dejan Jovic, he was “the only true Yugoslav.” He enjoyed immense public popularity throughout his lifetime, was beloved abroad, and unchallenged within the Yugoslav Party leadership. Tito, along with his position as president-for-life, was made into a constitutional exception by Kardelj in the 1974 Constitution, as the LCY sought to decentralize authority and pass it along to the republics. By making Tito and his position a constitutional anomaly, the 1974 Constitution set up the inter-republican struggles of the 1980s. Jovic argues that the 1974 Constitution was “the beginning of the de-Titoization of Yugoslavia...the system was projected to anyone else from becoming a new supreme arbiter in the post-Tito period.”<sup>32</sup> As a result, once Tito died in 1980, the republics were in an increasingly loose confederation, and in addition (and more significantly) without the supreme leader to guide the way and mediate the republican/national conflicts. Increasingly toward the end of Tito’s life, loyalty to the state had become personal loyalty to Tito: “he was no longer just the supreme politician, but also the state itself.” Yugoslavia had been weakened until it lived—and died—with one person.<sup>33</sup>

Richard West echoes these sentiments in his lengthy book on the former Yugoslav ruler. He eloquently espouses the good work done by Tito, how he managed to carefully balance the different ethnic groups and republics against each other, and credits Tito with creating and sustaining communist Yugoslavia.<sup>34</sup> Tomislav Sunic agrees with West that Tito was personally responsible for much of the success of Yugoslavia, but disagrees in how Tito retained power and

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>34</sup> Richard West, *Tito and the rise and fall of Yugoslavia* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1994), 318-330.

popularity for his entire life. Sunic argues that Tito was responsible for keeping Yugoslavia together, in his application of “terror, persecution, and fear.”<sup>35</sup> Tito used the police forces to stifle dissent and instill fear in the population, and while Yugoslavia did hold elections, the outcomes were never in doubt. Yugoslavia was totalitarian, and Tito’s power was never allowed to be questioned. Like all dictators, they are often well-regarded by the population, because the population dare not express an alternate viewpoint. Unlike Sunic, who primarily blames Tito’s mismanagement for Yugoslavia’s bloody collapse, Richard West argues that the nationalist leaders who came to power after Tito--in particular Tadjman and Milosevic--carry the brunt of the blame for ruining Tito’s creation.

While Lenard Cohen argues that long-term influences were the most significant in creating the tensions that led to the end of the Yugoslav state, he credits the various republican Communist leaders with the final blow. By failing to “agree upon a revised model of political and economic coexistence that could have preserved some form of state unity,” these leaders in effect formalized the end of Yugoslavia as a state.<sup>36</sup> Slobodan Milosevic receives the brunt of the blame from Cohen, but Franjo Tadjman is not far behind, along with the rest of the national leaders of Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. Ultimately though, despite their share of the blame for the dissolution, Cohen explicitly rejects what he calls the “paradise lost/loathsome leaders perspective” that he claims progressively replaced the “ancient hatreds” model in the 1990s. By placing too much emphasis on individual leaders, he argues, the assumption became that once those leaders were out of power, these problems would be overcome; they were not.

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<sup>35</sup> Tomislav Sunic, *Titoism and Dissidence: Studies in the History and Dissolution of Communist Yugoslavia* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), 32.

<sup>36</sup> Cohen, *Broken Bonds*, 265.

The role played by Serbian and Croatian intellectuals is explored by Nick Miller and Jill Irvine, respectively, in their contributions to the edited volume *State-Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration*. Miller argues that the Serbian intellectual community, which authored the infamous Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1986, while not guiding the masses or being guided by them, managed to create “images of their national communities that were useful to political elites.”<sup>37</sup> This is evident, for example, in Milosevic’s famous remarks in Kosovo in 1987, in which he famously told a crowd of Kosovo Serbs that “no one should dare beat you.”<sup>38</sup> This ensured Milosevic an almost mythic status among Serbs across the country, to whom the province of Kosovo is incredibly important to their national identity and they had perceived to be slipping inescapably away as they became a very small minority in the province. Milosevic’s use of this nationalist rhetoric was powerful, and rallied Serbs around him by calling upon the powerful, constructed Serbian national memory of Kosovo. The power this gave him (or he thought he had) was in fact instrumental to his subsequent actions that were directly responsible for the dissolution of the federal state. As a result, these Serb intellectuals and politicians did indeed have an impact on the negative development of the SFRY.

Jill Irvine’s article on the legacy of the “Croatian Spring” of 1971 argues that Tito’s purge of leading Croatian politicians and intellectuals created an atmosphere that “allowed the religious authorities to step into the vacuum and to undertake programs of ethnoreligious

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<sup>37</sup> Nick Miller, “Return Engagement: Intellectuals and Nationalism in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” in *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe*, eds. Jasna Dragovic-Soso and Lenard J. Cohen (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 196.

<sup>38</sup> Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 36-47.

mobilization that contributed to the dissolution of the state.”<sup>39</sup> Ironically, by weeding out what he saw as the roots of nationalism, Tito had only made them stronger. The Croatian nationalist development was stunted by Tito’s purge of the elites in that republic, but it was a temporary measure. After they were released from prison and Tito had died, their rhetoric grew stronger, and in addition, they were disillusioned with the LCY after having been expelled from the party and imprisoned. Men such as Franjo Tujman, who would later become the first president of independent Croatia, became more fervent in their nationalist rhetoric; an important change is the addition of an increased hostility for the state, as a result of their perceived persecution by the LCY which put them in place to gain popularity when the state and its official ideology began to lose legitimacy in the 1980s. Anti-statism thus became synonymous with nationalism, and men such as Milosevic and Tujman, among others, used this to their advantage.

Lilly’s argument is well presented, and convincing; her analysis of individuals and elites that had not been dealt with well enough and came back to haunt the SFRY later is a good one. In conjunction with Nick Miller’s piece on Serbian intellectuals, the different streams of thought produced in the two republics—as elaborated in Pavlowitch’s piece on the legacy of the two world wars discussed earlier<sup>40</sup>—were distinct. They were also so defined and entrenched by the 1970s that even Tito’s heavy-handed purges was not enough to derail the nationalist train.

### **The Socialist Experience: Ideology, Institutions, and Legacy**

This line of thought argues that the Socialist years directly created the violent dissolution of the SFRY. Socialist ideology committed the state to eventually “wither away,” meaning the

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<sup>39</sup> Jill Irvine, “The Croatian Spring and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” in *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe*, eds. Jasna Dragovic-Soso and Lenard J. Cohen (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 170.

<sup>40</sup> Pavlowitch, “The Legacy of The Two World Wars,” in *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe*, eds. Jasna Dragovic-Soso and Lenard J. Cohen (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008).

leadership created the rope to hang itself. Increased autonomy of the republics, and decentralization of authority, meant that political and economic differences were played out along nationalist boundaries, and state-level rhetoric encouraged coexistence of multiple cultures rather than striving for the creation of a national, Yugoslav, culture.

Economic factors certainly played a part in destabilizing the Yugoslav state. The global economic crisis of the 1970s certainly affected the SFRY, which was forced to take out more loans to cover its needs, and its foreign debt ballooned. Susan Woodward, in her fine study *Socialist Unemployment*, puts an emphasis on economics for the collapse of the SFRY. She argues that the market-oriented reforms forced on the Yugoslav economy in the 1980s failed to improve the situation—ballooning unemployment and skyrocketing inflation—and the Yugoslav government’s overreliance on foreign debt meant that austerity measures had to be enacted. All of the combined economic pressures put tremendous pressure on the regime.<sup>41</sup>

Not only did the regime experience economic pressures, but the worsening economic situation exposed some tensions between the republics (which was often played out in nationalist terms due to the homogenous nature of most republics, with the exception being Bosnia). Gordana Rabrenovic explains that wealthier republics such as Slovenia wondered why they were subsidizing poorer republics, and in poorer ones, nationalist demagogues arose to blame the Yugoslav federation for their plight. Ethnic tensions rose and the standard of living declined, as the support for the LCY continued to be eroded by their inability to fix the economy. This was in part, Rabrenovic argues, because elections were not held at the federal level, meaning it was

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<sup>41</sup> Susan L. Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment* (Princeton University Press, 1995).

nearly impossible to get support for a solution for Yugoslav issues, as people largely voted along ethnic and nationalist lines.<sup>42</sup>

On the other hand, Dejan Jovic has argued that these economic pressures were in fact indirect and did not directly lead to a crisis. It was not the economic problems that started the undoing of the state, but rather these problems “triggered debates and exposed problems of the Yugoslav Socialist ideology.”<sup>43</sup> The Yugoslav state was what Jovic calls an “ideological community” as it was based on socialist ideology rather than a common ethnicity, culture, religion, or language. Socialism usurped all other forms of identity on the state level, but the republics allowed language, ethnicity, religion, and culture to remain distinct from others, internally, as long as state-sponsored socialism was not challenged. When the socialist ideology lost its legitimacy, the only ideology that was fit to take its place was nationalism, as it already existed—and had blossomed to varying degrees—within each of the republics. There was no civil society to provide an alternative to nationalist ideology when the communist party, and with it socialism, was discredited, and then collapsed.<sup>44</sup>

Paul Lendvai also stresses the importance of a decentralized economy in ratcheting ethnic tensions.<sup>45</sup> The Yugoslav policy of self-management that was adopted in the wake of the LCY’s expulsion from the Soviet economic sphere, coupled with the increasing decentralization, led to economic battles being waged along what were effectively national lines. This nationalization of economic arguments became increasingly political as the wealthier northern republics (Slovenia

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<sup>42</sup> Gordana Rabrenovic, “The Dissolution of Yugoslavia: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Exclusionary Communities,” *Dialectical Anthropology* 22, no. 1 (March 1997), 99.

<sup>43</sup> Jovic, *Yugoslavia*, 17.

<sup>44</sup> Rabrenovic, “The Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” 97-98.

<sup>45</sup> Lendvai and Parcell, “Yugoslavia without Yugoslavs.”

and Croatia) became progressively more aggravated with the federal government for subsidizing the poorer southern regions (in particular Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo). Eventually, these republics decided it was no longer in their economic interests to remain in a common state and exercised their right to secede.

The 1974 Constitution is often blamed for the problems of the federal/confederal structure of the SFRY. According to Stevan K. Pavlowitch, the “republicanization of the 1974 Constitution...[meant] regional forces acquired legitimacy at the expense of the federation.” When elections were held in 1990, they were set up to be determined by nationalist populism as a result. The Constitution effectively meant that the LCY “degenerated into a coalition of local oligarchies which allowed the nationalism of the majority group to assert itself in every constituent unit.”<sup>46</sup>

While it may seem to have constituted a major step toward independent nation-states for the republics, the 1974 Constitution was that way for a reason, argues Dejan Jovic; the years before it was finally put to paper saw intense negotiations and compromises on all sides. He argues that placing the blame on constitutional and/or institutional reasons endemic to the SFRY often fail to take into account that constitutions are always a result of political negotiations, and are almost always the only possible option at the time of their establishment. Yugoslavia is no exception in this. Kardelj, and to a lesser extent Tito, had a strong belief in the principle of what Jovic terms “the withering away of the state.” Their interpretation of Marx was that eventually, Communism would replace socialism and the state would no longer be needed, and would be replaced by a community of equal individuals. This idea had been building in the decade before

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<sup>46</sup> Pavlowitch, “Who Is “Balkanizing” Whom?,” 207.

the 1974 Constitution, and the constitutional realization of this principle represented Kardelj's *magnum opus*.<sup>47</sup> The Yugoslav leadership was committed to their interpretation of Marx, which held that the state must "wither away" in the more mature stages of Communism. Consequently, "the collapse of Yugoslavia was primarily a logical, though perhaps unintended, consequence of political actions taken by its elite."<sup>48</sup>

Here, Jovic is criticizing the fundamental ideology of the LCY. As the state was committed to "withering away", it was necessary for the LCY to decentralize power. This anti-statist policy was not put into place until the 1974 Constitution, and even then it was not adopted *de facto* until after the death of Tito, who had been the grand exception to the Yugoslav state hierarchy.<sup>49</sup> Kardelj himself was committed to decentralization, as he felt that multiethnic states only made sense if the constituent republics felt more secure within them. His "recognition of [the Yugoslav] republics as nation-states" was key to the constitutional conception of the SFRY, in particular after 1974. As the republics became ever more autonomous and defined by ethnicity, religion, and language, "the leaders of the republics focused on doing exactly what was expected of them—to conduct only 'republican' politics, thinking of Yugoslavia... as an arena for their republics' 'foreign policy'."<sup>50</sup> Increasingly the republics were given the freedom to act as independent states, and as the economic and political crises deepened across Yugoslavia, this autonomy created independent solutions in the republics to the crises. The republics had indeed begun to move in separate directions, but this was not simply the result of the constitutional

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<sup>47</sup> Jovic, *Yugoslavia*, 47-83.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-32.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.



framework created under Edvard Kardelj; this separation was a result of many factors, and the constitution of 1974 simply put this into law.

The weakness of any pan-Yugoslav cultural nationalism has been attributed to different factors. The prevailing view has been that the individual constituent nations of the SFRY had pre-existing, established national ideologies before the South Slavs formed the first Yugoslav state in 1918. Additionally, a lack of common Yugoslav culture ultimately undermined the political project of building Yugoslavia. Because the idea of “Yugoslavism” had deteriorated in the two decades prior to the 1980s, there was nothing to hold the country together when the economic and political crises struck, argues Andrew Wachtel.<sup>51</sup>

Nationalism arose to fill the cultural (and eventually political) void left by the failure to synergize the various national identities into a pan-Yugoslav identity. By promoting a non-ethnic basis for the SFRY, the regime made nationalism the “main rhetorical antipode to the dominant ideology of the regime.” When the ideology and rhetoric of the LCY collapsed, the strongest dogma left standing was nationalism. By branding opponents of the regime nationalists, and excluding national expression from the public sphere, Kardelj and his followers weakened nationalism in public, while they simultaneously “made it stronger underground.”<sup>52</sup>

Additionally, rhetoric was important to the regime, and it reflects their thinking at various points. During the Second World War and then after, the Yugoslav communists used the slogan “brotherhood and unity” (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*). Obviously, “brotherhood” is far more unifying and committal than simply “unity;” the first implies a real community, while the second signifies

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<sup>51</sup> Andrew Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> Jovic, *Yugoslavia*, 21.

a much more loose association of peoples. Andrew Wachtel and Christopher Bennet, in their essay “The Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” argue that the slogan is in fact oxymoronic: “unity, if it could be achieved, would result in full agreement and synthesis, whereas brotherhood, although it certainly emphasizes closeness, implies different and potential disagreements of all kinds.” For Wachtel and Bennett, the evidence suggests that the language used to describe this “contractual” relation to the state also implied a focus on “communitarian rather than individual values;” that is, rather than creating a single—“Yugoslav”—culture, differing cultures were encouraged to coexist. Once the state, who was the owner and creator of the “brotherhood and unity” rhetoric lost legitimacy and weakened, these coexisting cultures were fully formed and independent of each other. At this point, they were no longer able—or more importantly, willing—to come together.<sup>53</sup> The LCY’s ideology, and the way it was shown through its rhetoric, was at least in part responsible for deflating the Yugoslav idea.

This is echoed by Laslo Sekelj, who argues that the Yugoslav communist leadership was responsible for disenfranchising the Yugoslav population by creating their unique system of self-management—which was presented as economic, but which had serious political consequences.<sup>54</sup> A possible way to unite the country, he argues, would have been with common Yugoslav values, but socialism was not up to the task; “common values,” in fact, became a source of *disintegration* as common values and beliefs were formed at the local level with the increased economic and political decentralization of Yugoslavia. As common values were

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<sup>53</sup> Andrew Wachtel and Christopher Bennett, “The Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” in *Confronting The Yugoslav Controversies*, ed. Charles W. Ingrao (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 17-18.

<sup>54</sup> Laslo Sekelj, *Yugoslavia: The Process of Disintegration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

fashioned with *local* Yugoslavs, the development of a modern concept of citizenship was, in fact, impossible: “in reality, there is no Yugoslav citizen.”<sup>55</sup>

However, data showing that Yugoslav identification was in fact *increasing* in the decade between the 1971 and 1981 census complicates this position somewhat.<sup>56</sup> The Yugoslav census itself was incredibly complex, with citizens encouraged to select a “nation” or “nationality” *other* than Yugoslav. More analysis needs to be done to understand the complexities of self-identification, and role the state played in individuals’ self-identification in the SFRY.

Sociologists, anthropologists, and historians need to find out how individuals related to the census, and those administering it. Interviews, letters, diaries, and other devices should be used in a social history, in order to arrive at a better understanding of Yugoslav self-identification and the Yugoslav census.

Mitja Velikonja argues that while Slovenes were supportive of the Yugoslav state from its formation, they rejected assimilative Yugoslavism throughout the state’s existence. Velikonja argues that Slovene nationalism does not stem from myths of ancient kingdoms, but rather from a “linguistic and cultural uniqueness vis-à-vis other South Slavs.”<sup>57</sup> This, in turn, made it easier to imagine a Slovene nation independent of Yugoslavia when they perceived it as no longer being in their interests. By perceiving themselves as separate, and not fully embracing the Yugoslav idea, Slovenia transitioned more naturally to independent statehood.

Susan Woodward echoes Velikonja’s sentiments on the Slovenes, and proposes that the “Slovene pursuit of independence had gained speed after 1985,” driven by a perceived threat in

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 245.

<sup>56</sup> Cohen, *Broken Bonds*, 175.

<sup>57</sup> Dejan Djokic, *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 94-98.

Ljubljana from Belgrade. She argues that the integral part of any Yugoslavia—the first and the second Yugoslavia—had always been the balance between Slovenia and Serbia. The international community’s economic flirtation, such as opening banks and businesses in Ljubljana, “began to suggest real options to Slovenia if it left the union...this realization gave Slovenia ever less reason to compromise on its sovereignty claims.” However, this is an area in which research on the former Yugoslavia needs to be expanded considerably.<sup>58</sup>

The malleability of Yugoslavism as a concept meant that everyone had different ideas of what it was, which may have ultimately led to its destruction. Even those interested in preserving it may have been acting in what they perceived to be its best interests, but the lack of a coherent Yugoslav ideology may have resulted in opposing actions being taken.<sup>59</sup> Economic and political fragmentation created different situations in the various republics. Some, like Slovenia, could more easily envisage an independent future, based on economic ties with the West, and linguistic insulation. Additionally, wealthier republics had little to gain by integration into a larger federal state, where they would have been an ethnic—and voting—minority. On the other hand, larger and more populated republics like Serbia wanted their numerical advantage to count for something.

### **The International Community**

International geopolitical posturing meant that Yugoslavia enjoyed a position of privilege once it split from the Soviet Union and became the leader of the “Third World.” However, the end of the Cold War meant that this privilege eroded throughout the 1980s, and economic issues

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<sup>58</sup> Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1995), 97-113.

<sup>59</sup> Jasna Dragovic-Soso, "Why Did Yugoslavia Disintegrate," in *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe*, eds. Jasna Dragovic-Soso and Lenard J. Cohen (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007), 8.

plagued the SFRY. Austerity measures imposed by creditors led to a political crisis internally and sped up the dissolution of the state. Additionally, an uneven response by the international community once internal problems became obvious gave incentive to the richer republics to secede from the SFRY and seek independence. Finally, a lack of decisive action by the international community once problems became evident allowed the bloodshed to get out of control as the country descended into violence during the Yugoslav wars of succession.

International politics, and the role of the international community in the dissolution of Yugoslavia, get blamed for two main reasons. Both of these arguments have as their central idea the Cold War. The first argument holds that the end of communism throughout Eastern Europe effectively ended Yugoslavia's geo-political importance (in essence, the collapse of the Second World made the Third World instantly obsolete). With this loss of status came the end of foreign aid and support; neither side of the Cold War divide had any further use for the SFRY. Adding to her earlier thesis that economics was the main contributor to the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Susan Woodward argues that the international community's economic policies were a large reason for the end of Yugoslavia. In the wake of the end of communism throughout Eastern Europe, Western economists, governments, and international institutions were pushing for economic "shock therapy" and the liberalization of the economies of Eastern Europe.

In Yugoslavia, this began even earlier; having been open to the West economically long before the rest of the Communist half of Europe, the Yugoslav government had also accrued huge amounts of Western loans. During the 1970s, Yugoslavia was forced to depend on Western loans with high interest rates. When this was no longer sustainable, and with a push from the international community, the SFRY was in effect forced to impose austerity measures that

brought about a political crisis.<sup>60</sup> The austerity measures imposed on Yugoslavia meant that the standard of living sunk to the levels of the early 1960s in the most of the country. As popular sentiment turned against the federal government (which, importantly, was imposing the measures on the republics) the republics—in particular the wealthy northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia—began to push toward independence and national sovereignty.

Secondly, international recognition is another aspect that has been highlighted by some as a cause for the dissolution. The European Community, with a newly-unified Germany at the head, and the insistence on diplomatically recognizing Slovenia—and even more significantly, Croatia—splintered the international community’s stance on Yugoslavia and sped up the drive to national self-determination in the former Yugoslavia. Woodward also presents the idea that the European Community (EC) helped to accelerate the crisis by insisting that the internal, republican borders of Yugoslavia were immutable. By taking the view that these internal borders were *de facto* international borders, these republics were effectively transformed into internationally-recognized nation-states. Abandoning the inviolability of borders, Woodward asserts, all parties were encouraged to seize territory and “ethnically cleanse” it before asking for international recognition on the basis of “national self-determination.” Despite the fact that the republican borders were being taken as *de facto* borders of the newly-independent states, the portions of Yugoslavia which had national minorities became battlegrounds to determine which nation would ultimately rule those lands.

Stevan K. Pavlowitch argues that the international community had a hand in the “balkanization” of Yugoslavia, by attempting to force the issue of national self-determination

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<sup>60</sup> Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy*.

and liberalism after the fall of Communism. Without understanding the historic differences among the various nations of Yugoslavia, the West in fact was a driving force in the splintering of Yugoslavia.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, the international community had previously taken the position that international borders were static; Robert Hayden cites examples of the Kurds not getting their own state and the international community ignoring the divide in Cyprus. Hayden also claims that “the responsibility for the complete breakdown of the Yugoslav state...rests with the European Community and the U.S.”<sup>62</sup> His principal argument in assigning blame to the international community is the failure to respond in a timely manner, and to do so with a united front. The German and Austrian political support in favor of Slovenian and Croatian separatism made preserving the SFRY virtually impossible, and “far from assuring peace, the formal recognition of independent states in what was Yugoslavia ensures the permanent confrontation of regimes defined only their opposition to each other.”<sup>63</sup>

Other scholars have insisted that a more decisive, earlier intervention from the West could have helped to avert the catastrophic violence in Yugoslavia. Had the international community taken action in the 1980s to assist Yugoslavia with economic and political issues, the collapse might have been avoided. Similarly, the West missed a chance to avoid much bloodshed by not stepping in more decisively once fighting broke out in 1991.<sup>64</sup> The West, while responsible on one level for pushing the idea of national self-determination, was too slow to react

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<sup>61</sup> Pavlowitch, “Who Is “Balkanizing” Whom?”

<sup>62</sup> Robert M. Hayden, “Yugoslavia's collapse: National suicide with foreign assistance,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 27, no. 27 (July, 1992), 1377.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Paul Shoup, “The Disintegration of Yugoslavia and Western Foreign Policy”, in *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe*, eds. Jasna Dragovic-Soso and Lenard J. Cohen (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007), 333-355; Matjaz Klemencic, “The International Community and the FRY/Belligerents, 1989-1997”, in *Confronting The Yugoslav Controversies*, ed. Charles W. Ingrao (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 153-189.

when the country was spiraling toward disaster in the late 1980s and again in the 1990s after the violence erupted. A faster, unified response from the international community might have gone a long way toward keeping the country together, or averting genocide and ethnic cleansing at the very least. Some have even argued that the failures of the international community led directly to the propagation of the “ancient tribal hatreds” trope that was passed off as fact in the Western media during the wars in the former Yugoslavia.<sup>65</sup>

The international community’s role is undoubtedly an important one. The economic crisis that affected Yugoslavia could have been eased by assistance from abroad, but instead the West took the opportunity to demand increased economic and political liberalization, and the federal government was hardly in a position to argue. The argument that Pavlowitch makes is sensible, especially in light of what was happening across Eastern Europe after 1989. However, this does not take into account that it was that very same international community that had kept Yugoslavia afloat in the three decades before the crisis. Here is where Woodward’s account is more nuanced, as she takes into account the loans that had been taken out, increasingly at dangerously high interest rates. An unsustainable situation was created in Yugoslavia due to the Cold War international politics, but had the West cut off foreign aid earlier, could Yugoslavia have dealt with the economic crisis at a time when it was politically stable? The key was, according to these authors, the simultaneous economic and political crises, which led to the dissolution of the SFRY.

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<sup>65</sup> Josip Zupanov, Dusko Sekulic, and Zeljka Sporer, “A Breakdown of the Civil Order: The Balkan Bloodbath,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1996), 406-407.



## Conclusion

The process of state collapse, as described by sociologist Badredine Arfi, begins “when elites manipulate communal tensions rooted in rival historical memories and conflicting communal identities to ignite and sustain a fictionalization of political loyalty, leading to communal mobilization against the state.”<sup>66</sup> This is an apt description of the process which the world witnessed in the former Yugoslavia. The various factors described in this paper, working in concert, created the situation which allowed for the weakening of the central state ideology, the manipulation of national memory and mobilization against not only the Yugoslav state, but also the various other nationalities within the SFRY, and the descent into violence.

As events in the various nation-states which have succeeded the SFRY have unfolded and evolved—and scholars, analysts, and historians have had more time to digest the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of Yugoslavia—so have the explanations. In the immediate course of events in the early 1990s, the reasons for the bloody collapse were widely reported as “ancient ethnic hatreds” and other explanations using the *longue duree* approach to explain that for an assortment of reasons, the various nations and nationalities of the SFRY have hated each other from long before the establishment of that state. Though there are certainly tensions among the various national groups in the former Yugoslavia that predate that state’s existence, this is a simplistic explanation that does not do any real explaining. Even worse, it is fatalistic and encourages inaction from outside observers as a policy.

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<sup>66</sup> Badredine Arfi, “State Collapse in a New Theoretical Framework: The Case of Yugoslavia,” *International Journal of Sociology* 28, no. 3 (Fall, 1998),.15.

Nationalism, and the legacies and memories of the previous Yugoslav state and the Second World War, took over as the dominant way of explaining the dissolution of the SFRY after the “ancient hatreds” began to be rejected. While this is in many ways a similar line of argumentation, though much more precise in both its historical accuracy and analysis, it falls short of explaining why a country which had enjoyed peace and prosperity for several decades suddenly erupted into the worst genocide on the European continent since the Second World War.

The responsibility of the international community in the collapse of Yugoslavia is, in comparison to the first two explanations, a novel way of understanding the collapse. Unfair economic pressures from abroad and an inconsistent, slow response to the unfolding crisis from the international community were given as decisive contributions to the Yugoslav disintegration. In combination with the second explanation, this allows us to understand that the regime was under a considerable amount of pressure—both internal and external. However, many states cope with these kinds of pressures without collapsing into fratricidal war. What, then, was unique about this state that it *did* ultimately succumb to these pressures?

Analysts then began focusing on the role of certain individuals—among them Tito, Edvard Kardelj, Slobodan Milosevic, and nationalist intellectuals—who had played significant parts in first holding the Yugoslav mosaic together, and later in tearing it apart. Intellectuals and politicians certainly influence events; individual agency can often be a “wild card” in history. However, these explanations can often also be simplistic and reductionist, and once again encourage little real action beyond removing a few “bad apples,” and not affecting any real change.

The effects and the legacy of the Yugoslav socialist experience have also come under scrutiny. The state's ideology, economic policies, rhetoric, and failure to build a pan-Yugoslav cultural identity have all been analyzed. The 1974 Constitution, "republicanization" and "de-Titoization," and the determination of the LCY to "wither away the state" have also been considered in recent years. However, census data showing a rise in cultural "Yugoslavism" shows one potential new avenue for scholarship on Yugoslavia; a social history, or even an anthropological/sociological study, on how Yugoslavs felt unofficially would undoubtedly prove invaluable for future generations of historians.

Ultimately, the reasons for the collapse of Yugoslavia are numerous and varied, and certainly more nuanced than any single explanation can be. This review—though not comprehensive—has addressed the relevant literature on the topic, and it must be concluded that a number of factors combined to lead to the collapse of Yugoslavia as a state. National tensions did in fact exist before the Communists came to power and were not adequately dealt with after the Second World War. The nationality policy in Yugoslavia, as developed by the state apparatus, did not allow for a consistent, cohesive narrative to be formed on the memory of World War Two. As a result, schools, newspapers, intellectuals, and politicians of the various republics developed their own *internally* cohesive narratives; dialogue among them was by no means encouraged by the state, and they became insulated.

Economic decentralization created an atmosphere in which these tensions were kept alive, and the worsening of the economic crisis in the 1970s and 1980s only increased the autarkic tendencies of the republics, thereby sharpening the inter-republican (i.e. national) clashes. By creating practically autonomous republics, the LCY's intent to have the federal state "wither away" was successful as long as the supra-national, grandfatherly Tito was alive to

balance out the various republican leaderships. Once he died in 1980, however, Yugoslavia effectively became a loose association of (virtually independent) nation-states. At that point, key individuals such as Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman fanned the nationalist flames in search of more power. The international community pressured the Yugoslavs into first economic reforms, and then austerity measures; when the federation was perched precariously, certain states in effect decided to approve of the dissolution and recognize internal republican administrative boundaries as sovereign international borders. At the end of the day, the primary fabric that had been woven to keep Yugoslavia together was ideological, and once the ideology began to unravel, there was nothing left to keep the various ethnic groups and republics together. This, combined with very developed nationalism in each of the republics, made “the peaceful reform of the Federation or its peaceful dissolution impossible.”<sup>67</sup>

Despite these factors driving the dissolution of the country, the violence in Yugoslavia was not inevitable. Other European states divorced relatively peacefully after the end of communist rule, such as Czechoslovakia and the USSR. Why, then, did Yugoslavia descend into fratricidal violence? Surely, the nationalist rhetoric that was espoused by political leaders and various media created a vitriolic atmosphere of anger and resentment, and the fact that the various republics had been allowed to grow apart during the socialist years by developing their own national narratives after the war, using the national media to promote “the ethnic rhetoric of nationalistic parties,” and raising generations of people who felt a stronger association with their ethnic nationality (and republic) than with the larger Yugoslav state.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Fink-Hafner, “The Disintegration of Yugoslavia,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 37, no. 3/4 (Sep-Dec 1995), 343-345.

<sup>68</sup> Rabrenovic, “The Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” 99.

William Hagen argues that violence is not a sign of “unmediated ancient hatreds but the insecurities accompanying the breakup of the multinational communist confederation of Yugoslavia and the unresolved conflicts over the establishment of new political boundaries.”<sup>69</sup> Surely, it was more than just the uncertainty over borders that drove people who had lived together peacefully for decades to suddenly turn on each other in a violent, nationalist frenzy; there was real fear. The conflict split towns and neighborhoods, as well as families and friends, and made the violence very personal. It was no coincidence that the fiercest fighting and “ethnic cleansing” happened in the region which had been the most ethnically and religiously diverse prior to the conflicts, but had also been the most underdeveloped: the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. “Had those [Yugoslav] wars been fought more impersonally,” Hagen writes, “in the high-tech American way, the U.S. reaction would have been less horrified.”<sup>70</sup> Precisely because they were not fought impersonally, the violence raged. Political parties and leaders with platforms centered on nationalist ideologies divided people and used fear and dissatisfaction with economic conditions to gain support. The simple message was that “we,” the victims, are being exploited by “them.”<sup>71</sup> The fear that gripped the various people of the SFRY spread like wildfire and escalated quickly, and other factors--the international community’s reaction, the lack of civic organizations to stand against the nationalist parties--only served fueled the fire.

Moving forward, there is room for new research on Yugoslavia and its eventual collapse. A good social history or a history of everyday life in the SFRY would be invaluable to future scholars of the region. As studies of Yugoslavia have focused primarily on political—and to a

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<sup>69</sup> Hagen, “The Balkans’ Lethal Nationalisms,” 63.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Rabrenovic, “The Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” 101.

lesser extent cultural—elites, a study of Yugoslavs at the grassroots level would further our understanding of interactions between the state and society. This would advance our understanding of the national mobilization that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, and what the driving force behind this mobilization was. American journalist Joe Sacco, in his trilogy of fabulous graphic novels based on the time he spent in Bosnia in the 1990s, deals with the issues felt by many Bosnians as they struggled to cope with the violence.<sup>72</sup> One of the major themes he addresses is the questions many (former) Yugoslavs had about why their former neighbors suddenly turned into ethnic violence, when they had lived together for centuries. There is confusion evident on the part of many, who had felt part of a community of Yugoslavs, despite being aware—and identifying—with their nations. Sacco’s work is yet another example highlighting the lack of good social history to help further our understanding of Yugoslavism in the SFRY.

With so much focus on the role of Serbia and Slobodan Milosevic in the unraveling of the Yugoslav state, several groups and actors have avoided scrutiny, in particular Slovenia, Croatia, and their respective presidents at the time of the Yugoslav dissolution, Milan Kucan and Franjo Tudjman. The situation in Kosovo, and Kosovar Albanian leaders have also not been properly analyzed. Finally, a thorough examination of the events during World War Two, in particular the Ustase, is needed, as there exists to date no comprehensive study of the incredible violence that took place in the Independent State of Croatia during the war. Historians of Yugoslavia, in short,

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<sup>72</sup> Sacco, *War's End*; Sacco, *The Fixer and Other Stories*; Sacco and Hitchens, *Safe Area Gorazde*. Sacco’s award-winning works are well-researched, and he himself objects to the term “graphic novel,” as that would implicate his works as fiction. He insists that they are not, and that the medium he chose should not distract.

need to move away from the idea that any work dealing with that country must necessarily address its violent end. There was so much more to life in Yugoslavia than its end.

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## EARLY MODERN EUROPE: FLORENCE, CALCIO, AND RITUAL POPULAR CULTURE

This paper will focus on early modern Florence, Italy, and *Calcio Fiorentino*, a game resembling soccer and rugby, which the city's ruling elites used as a tool to control rival elites and the lower classes so as to strengthen and perpetuate their political power. The early modern *Calcio Fiorentino* will be explored in its political context and analyzed as a form of ritual capable of transmitting and reinforcing the legitimacy of power and authority.

First, this paper will define *Calcio Fiorentino*. Secondly, it will discuss ritual theory and rituals in popular culture, specifically in public areas. Third, it will briefly examine the history of early modern Florence. Next, it will more fully explore *Calcio Fiorentino* as ritual and compare it as such with similar events and sports in other parts of Europe. Finally, it will briefly comment on the evolution and significance of *Calcio* beyond the early modern period.

*Calcio Fiorentino* is the Florentine iteration of the game we today know as a hybrid of soccer and rugby. However, this early modern game did not much resemble today's game. This event still continues today, although it has changed significantly over the past few centuries in how it is played, how it is portrayed, and how it is perceived. A basic set of rules appeared in the *Discorso Sopra il Giuoco del Calcio Fiorentino*, written in Giovanni de' Bardi in 1580,<sup>1</sup> but before then there had been no clearly defined rules. Previously, the number of players on each team, the size of the field, and other vital details were often left up to those responsible for hosting the match—most often a member of the Florentine nobility, or the individual in whose honor the match was arranged—“but, in the earlier phases of its evolution, it was probably little

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Magoun Jr, “Il Gioco del Calcio Fiorentino,” *Italica* 19, no. 1 (March 1942): 1-21.

more than a fist fight, the ball itself being hardly an essential part of the game.”<sup>2</sup> A late-seventeenth century traveler from northern Europe described the Florentine variety of *calcio* as “a cruel fist fight.”<sup>3</sup>

*Calcio* often played out as a set of mock battles or combat, where there were very few rules. Violence was the core of the game. The game was often halted at sunset, rather than after a specific length of time or after a certain number of points had been accumulated. The *calcio* was very much like a mock battle or mock combat, and the violence of the event was crucial to its popularity. Two teams of 27 men would line up, and the rules were simple: players could, and would, do anything necessary to get the ball across the opposing team’s end barriers, called *caccia*. The team that scored more *caccie* than the other team was proclaimed the winner. The attacking players would come at each other fiercely, throwing punches and trying to inflict as much damage upon the other team as possible. Scoring hits was often more important than scoring points.<sup>4</sup> In fact, *calcio* was so violent that the Medici “saw *calcio* as a good training ground for noblemen to practice for war.”<sup>5</sup> The game was mostly played in the piazza Santa Croce, but there are indications it was played in other venues at times, and the teams generally “comprised different professional groups, like wool merchants.”<sup>6</sup>

Traditionally, there were two types of *calcio*, played for different reasons and in different seasons. The first kind of *calcio* was called *calcio divisi*, and was played during Carnival time.

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<sup>2</sup> William Heywood, *Palio and Ponte: An Account of the Sports from Central Italy from Dante to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1969), 164.

<sup>3</sup> Manfred Zollinger, “Calcio Fiorentino Revisited: A Bibliographical Puzzle Finally Solved,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17, no. 4 (2000): 83.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses and Communities in International Events, Festivals, and Spectacles*, ed. Udo Merkel (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 39-40.

<sup>5</sup> Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses*, 40.

<sup>6</sup> Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses*, 40.

The second was called *calcio in livrea* (*calcio* in livery) and was played in honor of visiting dignitaries or for special occasions or ceremonies.<sup>7</sup> Who played in the teams, where the game was played, and the result, had to do with who was hosting the game, in whose honor it was played, and for what event the game was staged—and staged it was, as the winner was often not left to chance.<sup>8</sup>

*Calcio* played during carnival was an important and popular event. Carnival was full of various types of competition, such as horse races, foot races, jousts or tournaments on land and water, tug of war, and football matches.<sup>9</sup> Another common characteristic of carnival was violence. Violence took many forms and carnival-goers directed their violence at a variety of targets. *Calcio* managed to merge violence and competition to great effect, capturing the imagination of the Florentines, and becoming a key part of the carnival festivities. The season in which the game was primarily played had much to do with how it was played and why it was so popular for spectators and participants.

Carnival takes place in between the Epiphany (06 January) and Lent (which begins on Ash Wednesday). Carnival is part of Shrovetide, or the pre-Lent time, which means that in the build-up to Lent, the public took part in binging and purging itself of all kinds of vices. This was the time when people wore masks to disguise themselves, when the strict social order was inverted, limits on what could be said and done were lifted, and feasting, drinking, and fornicating was rampant.<sup>10</sup> Carnival was the time of year that most people spent the entire year

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 39-40.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Berner, "Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18, (1971): 227.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979), 184-185.

<sup>10</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture*, 186-187.

looking forward to. *Calcio* was another avenue of violence: the bloodlust of the crowd played a large part, but there were certainly scores to be settled among the participants.<sup>11</sup> This violence was ingrained in both *calcio* and carnival, linking the two in the imagination of the crowds which attended both in large numbers.

The idea of the “world upside down”, as carnival is often referred, and the idea of the “safety valve” that Peter Burke asserts,<sup>12</sup> come together with *calcio*. Burke’s theory of the safety valve is that by allowing a time of year for people to blow off steam, the ruling elites ensure the boiler doesn’t blow up during the rest of the year. *Calcio* was this theory on a small scale: during carnival, it was part of the sinful binge before the holy time of Lent, and at official events and ceremonies it performed the dual function of drawing enthusiastic crowds, and also allowing them to blow off steam in a structured manner. The Italian scholar Antonio Salvini wrote in 1735 that the game of *calcio* was invented by the Florentines “to let vanish, during a limited space of time and under the guise of a game, the bad humors.” Having *calcio* as an outlet allowed young Florentine men to behave in “sharp contrast” to their daily monotony.<sup>13</sup>

Having the *calcio* rooted in the carnival spirit made it tremendously popular for other events. When the Medici began using *calcio in livrea* at weddings or special ceremonies, it naturally drew huge crowds. The violence of the ritual, and the associated feelings spectators and participants had for carnival, naturally made the *calcio* a small extension of carnival in other

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<sup>11</sup> Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses*, 50. In modern times, there was such a desire to use the game to settle old scores or deal vendettas to opponents--that were unrelated to the match--became so common that the games were halted for two years and new laws had to be adopted in an attempt to eliminate such behavior.

<sup>12</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture*, 202-203.

<sup>13</sup> Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses*, 40.

times of the year, and allowed both participants and spectators to release some pent up energy and steam at the matches.

Having established the background of the game, a closer look at the ritual is appropriate. The key question that needs answering is perhaps the most basic: what is ritual, and what is it good for? Interpreting the ideas of Emile Durkheim, ritual is generally understood by sociologists to be a set of practices which distinguishes beliefs about the sacred from those about the profane; that is, it is the ritual itself which reinforces the sacred aspect of the ritual. Durkheim also states that rituals are experienced collectively, and meant to “excite, maintain or recreate certain mental states in these groups.”<sup>14</sup>

Ritual derives its continued legitimacy and authority to create meaning by having both observers and participants actively involved in the ritual. Victor Turner has argued that ritual is an ideal form of expressing a message in a way that presents the message as unquestionable, and as a result can communicate things that are, or perhaps should be, uncertain.<sup>15</sup> This is to say that the formal ritual can seem timeless, traditional, sacred, and unassailable to the average onlooker; at the same time, the onlooker is no mere observer, but an active participant, bestowing legitimacy on those participating in, or organizing, the ritual. This participation is self-reinforcing, and perpetuates the ritual. At the same time, participants imbue the ritual with the authority to create meaning in society. It is exactly for these reasons that the ritual is ideal for the transmission of cultural and political messages. It is precisely this point that makes the study of

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<sup>14</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1912), 22.

<sup>15</sup> Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti Structure* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp 6-8.

*calcio fiorentino*, and other public rituals, so valuable, and underscores the continued importance of sport into the present.

A key aspect of the *calcio fiorentino* as a ritual was the use of physical space. By hosting the *calcio* primarily in the same physical space (Piazza Santa Croce), the Medici created a separation and allowed the spectators to enter into a space where certain behaviors were allowed that would not normally be allowed. During carnival times this was the case in many spaces, but when *calcio* was played at other times throughout the year, this miniature carnival space was created which allowed some of the same behaviors. Participants understood that this inversion was only allowed in the associated physical space, and only during the match, in the “anti-structure” that was created for the event. Afterward, behavior reverts to normal; all those involved understood this reversion intuitively. This ritual plays out during football matches to this day in the many problems authorities have with the *Ultras* in modern-day Italy. *Ultras* are passionate football fans that display their affection in many ways, primarily centered around the use of choreography and violence. Within the time leading up to, and during, a match, authorities allow all kinds of behaviors which would not be tolerated outside of the ritual physical space of the football stadium.<sup>16</sup>

Emotions run high at football matches, just as they did in *calcio fiorentino* in early modern Florence. Edward Muir argues a ritual, to be considered a ritual, must have an element which is understood emotionally—it must be experienced collectively. In this case, Muir agrees with Durkheim’s assessment. Collectively, the officials, participants, and observers contribute and communicate meaning and legitimacy. *Calcio fiorentino* allowed people to experience

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<sup>16</sup> Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses*, 45-48.



simultaneously an event which was non-utilitarian and expressed meaning; it allows us in the present to reconstruct the reasons why the *calcio* was played, by whom, and for what purpose. Ritual action is a “formalized, collective, institutionalized kind of repetitive action.”<sup>17</sup> In order for ritual to bring a group into an “excited mental state”<sup>18</sup> the ritual has certain elements that create excitement, and the event itself is meant to keep people excited about the associated party—in this example, the Medici with *calcio*. If the event transmits legitimacy, then it can only last as long as the event itself, unless the emotion is maintained or symbols used to carry that legitimacy through to daily life. Muir says rituals that act as a mirror can “inform and incite emotions, clarify a situation, and even enact a passage from one status to another.”<sup>19</sup>

Rituals, according to Muir, have an element of ambiguity, and they also act as a “model” or a “mirror.” Either one is “modeling” a behavior that society should follow, or one is “mirroring,” which is to say, one is presenting society as it is—showing its character in a variety of settings.<sup>20</sup> A model “means to think certain thoughts or perform certain acts in accord with the rules the model presents;” in our case, the festivities associated with the main event of *calcio* come with a prescribed way of doing things. On the other hand, mirrors “present someone or something in a public way.” By declaring oneself to be in charge without challenge, one becomes in charge. In the case presented in this paper, the Medici will use the *calcio fiorentino* as a mirror to project, and maintain their hold on, power.<sup>21</sup> Ritual can also be designed to allow underlying social tensions to be dealt with.

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<sup>17</sup> Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2-3.

<sup>18</sup> Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Ritual Life*, 22.

<sup>19</sup> Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 4-6.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

Heidi Chretien insisted that rituals “can, in times of social stress, create an illusion that there is no social conflict, only harmony.”<sup>22</sup> Ritual and ceremony can unify different social classes in spite of inherent conflict between classes, create political unity in times of danger or social stress, and provide meaning and legitimacy to political messages—from the top or the bottom of the social stratum. Often rituals, as played out in festivals and events, are stories performed—and then believed and internalized—by a particular society *about themselves*. In effect, they reinforce and perpetuate a desired self-image.

Ritual is central to the study of culture and society, not merely religion; scholars have “turned to ritual as a window on the cultural dynamics by which people make and remake their worlds.”<sup>23</sup> Catherine Bell posits that a ritual is defined by several characteristics. Formalism, which generally means a formal language that is inflexible and can be inaccessible to some;<sup>24</sup> traditionalism, so as to stake a claim of legitimacy through history;<sup>25</sup> invariance, which means the events are choreographed carefully and strive for repetition;<sup>26</sup> rule-governance, which defines the boundaries of acceptable behavior;<sup>27</sup> sacral symbolism, which encompasses larger concepts or beings, particularly deities and religion;<sup>28</sup> and performance, which comprises the action of the ritual, and shapes the experience of the participants.<sup>29</sup> These aspects generally comprise, in varying degrees, a given ritual. According to Bell, most rituals, including the one which is the

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<sup>22</sup> Heidi Chretien, *The Festival of San Giovanni: Imagery and Political Power in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 5.

<sup>23</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 139–140.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 145–150.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 152–53.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 156–7.

focus of this paper, will have some version of each of these points included in them. *Calcio* was sometimes reserved for special occasions, especially Medici functions like weddings and other celebrations; by projecting harmony and togetherness as a ritual, the *calcio* became a way for the Medici to strengthen and perpetuate their own power as it was perceived by the general population, which in turn created tangible power they could project upon the city's inhabitants.

The inhabitants of the early modern Italy dealt with a great deal of change, with both borders and leaders. With the emergence of the various Italian city-states in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Italian peninsula became atomized and politically fractured. By the mid-fifteenth century, the peninsular warfare between the states meant that the larger cities had absorbed smaller ones to become small states, and five principal states shared in the bulk of the wealth, influence, and power: the Kingdom of Naples to the south, which was a feudal monarchy; the Papal States in the central region, which, despite their name, were effectively free of papal control; the republics of Venice and Florence, both ruled by powerful, commercial families; and the Duchy of Milan, ruled by an authoritarian duke.<sup>30</sup>

Florence was one of the larger city-states, though not as powerful as others like Venice. Florence was intermittently ruled by the powerful Medici family, who treated the territory outside the city walls "like a colonial hinterland."<sup>31</sup> The Medicis initially rose to prominence in the mid-fifteenth century with Cosimo de' Medici, the son of the founder of the Medici bank. The Medici bank was badly mismanaged under Lorenzo the Magnificent (r. 1469-1492), and by 1494 had ceased to exist. However, since Lorenzo the Magnificent was a great patron of the arts,

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<sup>30</sup> Eugene Rice, *Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460-1559* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 114-116.

<sup>31</sup> Rice, *Foundations of Early Modern Europe*, 116.

much of the fortune had been spent to support the arts in the city, and his reign coincided with Florence's cultural "golden age."<sup>32</sup> Even after the decline of their banking interests, the Medici family was incredibly influential throughout the Italian states, even producing two popes in the sixteenth century: Leo X (r. 1513-1521) and Clement VII (r. 1523-1534). Holding the papacy for most of the first third of the sixteenth century did much to ensure the continued influence of both Florence and the Medici family. In 1494, however, when Charles VIII of France invaded and conquered Florence, he banished the Medici family from the city.<sup>33</sup>

After the Medici were gone, a series of moral reforms to public life and public celebrations deemed to be too secular was started by the enigmatic friar Girolamo Savonarola, who would exert a great deal of influence over city life for a brief period after the death of Lorenzo in 1492. Savonarola preached throughout the city, and his popularity saw him rise to eventually preaching in large cathedrals; his sermons about cleansing the city of vice and returning the city to its proper status struck a chord with many Florentines. During the years without the Medici, under the influence of the "new moral order" of the religious zealot Girolamo Savonarola, the Florentine citizens "willingly renounced their oldest festive traditions and redirected the rewards...to the poor and needy, instead."<sup>34</sup> His vision of the republic was that of a Christian commonwealth, "of which God was the sole sovereign, and his Gospel the law; many flocked to the public square to fling down their costliest ornaments, which Savonarola's followers made into bonfires."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Gene Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>33</sup> Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 274-280.

<sup>34</sup> Michel Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici: Public Celebrations, Politics, and Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Toronto: Center for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2008), 55.

<sup>35</sup> *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, s.v. "Savonarola, Girolamo," accessed June 2, 2014, [http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/chambbd/savonarola\\_girolamo/0](http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/chambbd/savonarola_girolamo/0).

Carnival began to take on Christian overtones, although it never fully morphed into a religious event. Savonarola rejected the carnival celebrations, preferring instead a festival celebrating God's glory. Festivals, songs, and events were replaced with, supplemented by, or transformed into a religious observance, and Shrove Tuesday—the traditional end point of Carnival before Ash Wednesday and the beginning of Lent—was increasingly overlooked, as “Savonarola's Lenten preaching started...before Shrove Tuesday.”<sup>36</sup> This change in Carnival was part of a broader moral agenda in Florence during the time of Savonarola's significant influence in which “all secular culture was targeted.”<sup>37</sup> However, there was widespread disapproval of this change in emphasis, and many Florentines did not appreciate having their favorite time of the year taken from them.<sup>38</sup> With Savonarola's execution in 1498, the friar's puritanical reforms came to an end. By destroying the existing rituals—especially positive ones like Carnival—Savonarola's own base of power was eroded because rather than using a ritual to project social harmony, Savonarola's use of ritual was a negative one: he led the charge to disassemble existing rituals, such as his push to make carnival more like Lent, his push to purify society through targeting “all secular culture;” burning books in the vernacular or Latin, burning paintings, and forcing Florentines to turn over all forbidden objects (including art, musical instruments, and books).<sup>39</sup> On Shrove Tuesday of 1497, a bonfire more than 90 feet high was constructed and all manner of items were burned, including: paintings, statues, games of all kinds, musical instruments, female ornaments (hair-pieces, makeup, mirrors, and perfumes), books, and wigs,

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<sup>36</sup> Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici*, 71.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>38</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture*, 179. Burke says that it has been suggested by sociologists that “in traditional societies, a man lives ‘in remembrance of one festival and in expectation of the next.’”

<sup>39</sup> Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici*, 62-67.

masks, and other ornamentation used for carnival.<sup>40</sup> This was a negative ritual, rather than a positive one, and negative rituals are harder to sustain than those that create a sense of positive harmony, as they create and thrive on disunity. Ultimately, this could not be sustained, and Savonarola was executed in 1498. In the spirit of carnival, he was unfrocked and degraded in a public display before his execution.<sup>41</sup> Savonarola's demise was perhaps a valuable lesson on the power of people and crowds, and the need to keep them on side. The Medici would realize the importance of the wildly popular Calcio Fiorentino and use it to create a sense of harmony and togetherness.

Florence would officially be a republic until 1532, when Giovanni de Medici (the future Pope Leo X) re-conquered the city. A popular uprising against the Medici caused another, shorter, eviction of the Medici in 1527 which lasted until 1530, when armies led by Charles V and Clement VII captured the city and reinstalled the Medici, this time for good. During the siege of the city by the forces of Charles V in 1530, a famous match of *calcio* was played as a part of Carnival celebrations on the Piazza Santa Croce within sight of the enemy. (It was on the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this famous match that the Italian fascists held a game in an attempt to link the distant, Florentine past with the modern-day Italian state.)<sup>42</sup> Florentines coming together to play their city's sport in spite of the siege sent a powerful message to the opposing forces that they were not close to surrender. In 1532, Pope Clement made Alessandro de Medici "Duke of the Florentine Republic," and the state became a hereditary monarchy, ruled by the Medicis until 1737, when the royal bloodline died out.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 68-69.

<sup>41</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture*, 197.

<sup>42</sup> Francis Magoun Jr., "Il Gioco Del Calcio Fiorentino," *Italica* 19, no. 1 (March, 1942): 8.

<sup>43</sup> Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici*, 41-52.

During their time ruling the city, the Medicis were great patrons of the arts. They also favored large-scale public festivals and celebrations which they “had skillfully transformed into a component part of their government,” both to exert control and as a mechanism for ensuring their own popularity to sustain power.<sup>44</sup> One of these mechanisms used by the Medicis was *calcio fiorentino*. Though *calcio* was not started or invented by the Medici, the Medici saw its potential as a powerful public event rather quickly. Through *calcio*, the Medici saw a way to potentially control both rival elites and the general population. Official games of *calcio* became increasingly prevalent at special occasions, along with horse races (the *palio*), and tournaments of other sports. This was the case in much of the rest of the Italian peninsula, not just in Florence.<sup>45</sup> It is debatable whether the *calcio* was a “model” or a “mirror,” as Muir presents them—or perhaps it was both, depending on who was playing and who was watching. The Medici were careful to always use the *calcio fiorentino* at events which displayed their own magnificence and projected their own power. Associating the ritual with the Medici family helped to enforce the idea that the two were inseparable; Florentines would not think to eliminate one at the risk of losing the other.

Having been played in Florence only since 1470,<sup>46</sup> the Medici transformed it into a spectacle worthy of themselves. Particularly after the Medicis' return to Florence in 1512, they made the game about them and their own glory; it became a vehicle by which they could control all tiers of society. The Medici found glory and power in their application and use of the game. There are many examples of the game being played at official events, such as the marriage of

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>45</sup> Magoun Jr., “Il Gioco Del Calcio Fiorentino,” 8-10. Magoun discusses some of the different events for which *calcio* was staged, and even mentions that it was played during the siege of Florence by Charles V in 1530, despite coming under occasional fire.

<sup>46</sup> Zollinger, “Calcio Fiorentino Revisited,” 82. This is the earliest written evidence on the game in Florence, although it had been played elsewhere for several centuries. Its exact origins are unclear.

Alessandro de Medici to Margaret, daughter of Emperor Charles V of Austria (1536); the marriage of Lucrezia de Medici, daughter of Cosimo I, to Alfonso d'Este, son of the Duke of Ferrara (1558); the arrival in Florence of Archduke Karl of Austria (1569); the marriage of Cosimo II and Marie Magdalene of Austria (1606); and the marriage of Princess Anna Maria Luisa de Medici, daughter of Cosimo III, to Johan Wilhelm, Duke of Neuburg (1691). The Medici had transformed *calcio* from a spontaneous game played by Florentines to a (primarily) spectator sport “almost exclusively the property of the nobility.”<sup>47</sup> These examples show that the sport was used as a way of celebrating the union of powerful families.

The *calcio*, as used in an official capacity by the Medici, is situational, as applied at these formal events. That is to say, the Medici deploy the *calcio* at official functions in order to perpetuate the link between themselves and the *calcio*. Secondly, it is used strategically, to draw and entertain crowds of people. The event has an intrinsic, fundamental misrecognition of what it is actually accomplishing; drawing cheering crowds imparts legitimacy from the onlookers to those conducting the events. This is not necessarily what those viewing the match had intended to do with their presence, but this is Muir’s mirror in action—they are representing the world as it is, and projecting and perpetuating an image of how things actually are. Finally, it is reproducing a view of power in the world, in which the Medici are firmly in control of the events, and the glory from the match and crowd is squarely their own. There was the chance that this could backfire, given the carnival atmosphere around the game. This atmosphere had traditionally been reserved for the carnival time; letting the cat out of the bag, so to speak, and

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<sup>47</sup> Magoun, Jr. “Il Gioco del Calcio Fiorentino,” 15.



giving people license to invert the social order--even for a relatively brief time during a match--was potentially dangerous.

When we take ritual, or ritualization, as a practice, it becomes clear that these two are intertwined to a great degree. Bell maintains that the ritual requires an intrinsic opposite; a way to delineate that which is ritualized from that which is not. Bell uses the example of eating an everyday meal, and participating in the Christian eucharistic meal; each one must be offset from the other to create the ritualization necessary for the latter.<sup>48</sup> And so it is with the *calcio*: the event, as it is used in a formal, official capacity must be differentiated from the everyday, mundane playing of the sport. So the events are full of pomp, ceremony, and choreographed carefully; nothing is left to chance, often including the winner of the match.

But it is the use of such an everyday, mundane activity—one which virtually every Florentine can relate to—as an event of the ruling Medici family which is particularly compelling. Florentines can see the game they understand, enjoy, and—*crucially*—identify with as the vehicle for official ceremonies. The Medici assertion of legitimacy and power is thus passed through the sport which their subjects enjoy without the need for this to be explicit. The implicit association of the Medici with the *calcio* is enough to bestow legitimacy from the population onto those in positions of power; the connection between the two is established, and they are intertwined thereafter. Additionally, loyalty is engendered toward the Medici, and the public identifies or associates with the Medici on a deeper level, in large part due to the fanatic following of the *calcio* (here we can perhaps see the beginning of modern sports' fan culture, and the almost blind loyalty shown to fans of clubs or teams). Eventually, it is impossible to

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<sup>48</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

comprehend one without the other. So, the ritualization of the game has answered a question that Florentines perhaps did not even think to ask: *for whom is the glory of Florence?* The answer, of course, has become the Medici. This is a circular (if unspoken) arrangement: as the Medici are associated with the glory of Florence, proud Florentines also bask in the glory of their city.

*Calcio fiorentino* was "transformed into a courtly arrangement...the players were recruited only from the highest social class."<sup>49</sup> By permitting only the most exclusive members of society to participate, the Medici ensured that those "constantly competing for the Duke's favor were provided with a setting in which they engaged in harmless and structured competition."<sup>50</sup> Historian Samuel Berner goes on to say that "even on the football field this once proud and powerful class was subject to control." This indicates that this was perhaps the ultimate debasement, because even during their supposed pastime, they were the puppets of the ruling family, reduced to jockeying for favor and position.

Since the sport was also violent, forcing other nobles to subject themselves to the sport for the pleasure of the Medici, this could be considered total domination by the Medici, designed to keep the prestige and authority of the previously powerful merchants, bankers, and other capitalists under control. This intentional use of the game as a tool for control and subjugation of rival elites meant that increasingly, the game was not spontaneous, but rather clearly manipulated as much as any other formalized ritual in early modern Florence. As noted earlier, the ritual of

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<sup>49</sup> Zollinger, "Calcio Fiorentino," 83; also Samuel Berner, "Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18, (1971): 226. Berner says that "only the upper crust of society" was allowed to participate in the *calcio fiorentino*.

<sup>50</sup> Berner, "Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries", 226-227. One would hardly call *calcio fiorentino* "harmless" by today's standards, although it may have been for the time: a wide range of events and games which were played during Carnival were quite dangerous, and "sometimes with fatal results." See also: Henk Th. Van Veen, *Cosimo I De' Medici and His self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 43.

*calcio* supports Peter Burke’s “safety-valve theory,” whereby the ritual temporarily inverts the social order in order to defuse social tension and let lower classes blow off steam. This is done so that the rest of the time, the social order is maintained. In fact, by allowing a temporary break in social structures, the hegemonic power of the structure is reinforced, as all actors within have now accepted either a) the limits of their day-to-day power (for the lower classes) or b) having relinquished power temporarily, the classes which hold the power retrieve it after the temporary break in normalcy. However, there is a fine line to walk, and what can begin as entertainment sometimes strayed into rebellion or rioting; a variety of tactics were used to ensure this did not happen, and to combat cases in which it did.<sup>51</sup> The Medici used the game to curry favor with the people and provide a safety valve, but also as a distraction.<sup>52</sup> Florentine leaders had a fine line to walk to ensure the *calcio* was used in their own interests, and to retain control over how the *calcio* was used.

The first Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo I de’ Medici (r. 1537 - 1574), was very aware of his standing and legitimacy with the elites and his lower-class subjects of the city. In order to win over the elites, he created “a never-ending stream of rites, ceremonies, productions, and celebrations...[which] created a climate in which the Florentine elite was constantly reminded of its own exclusivity and prominence.”<sup>53</sup> This same set of elaborate public spectacles—including *calcio*—resonated with the public, and through their acceptance, provided legitimacy to Cosimo I. That *calcio* was used to control the public and distract people from the political realities of the daily life (and even to discourage them from political innovation or desire for change) is not a

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<sup>51</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture*, 200-201.

<sup>52</sup> Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses*, 40.

<sup>53</sup> Van Veen, *Cosimi I De’ Medici*, 151.

new idea. The Italian scholar Antonio Maria Salvini wrote in the seventeenth century that this was the case—though he was presumably among the minority in making such claims.<sup>54</sup> Salvini was also interested in returning the game to its noble roots, which to him meant following the rules laid out, and to make the game more attractive to the spectators by adhering to the standards expected of each position on the field. For Salvini, more applause for the match inevitably meant more applause for the nobility of Florence.<sup>55</sup>

Cosimo I de' Medici also understood the importance of immortalizing himself in the history of the city, and the nascent monarchic state; in short, “there is every indication that in these years Cosimo exploited historiography to lionize the city.” Not only did the Medici family write themselves into the history books, but used the game of *calcio* to trace the heritage of the city of Florence (and by extension, themselves) back to ancient glories, via the ancient ball games of the Greeks and Romans.<sup>56</sup> As the ruler of the newly-minted Duchy of Tuscany, Cosimo was seen as the guardian of the city’s honor and traditions, and was thus keen to protect, and project, them.<sup>57</sup> In August of 1569, in the events to mark the papal brief declaring Cosimo as the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a football match was held in his honor in the Piazza Santa Croce. Cosimo’s *azzurri* took on the Duchess’ *rossi*, and the latter “gallantly lost the game.”<sup>58</sup>

Other public rituals and expressions of popular culture were co-opted by the Medici, such as the festival of San Giovanni. The festival of San Giovanni had been the most important religious festival for a long time before the Medici held sway in Florence. The festival was held

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<sup>54</sup> A.M. Salvini, *Discorsi accademici*, Tomo terzo (Venice, 1735), 35 (Discorso XII: *Qual nome antico siapiu confacente al Giuoco del Calcio*). Also Zollinger, “Calcio Fiorentino Revisited,” 86-87.

<sup>55</sup> Zollinger, “Calcio Fiorentino Revisited,” 90.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-85.

<sup>57</sup> Van Veen, *Cosimo I De' Medici*, 151-153.

<sup>58</sup> Berner, “Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” 227-228.

in honor of Saint John (San Giovanni) every year on June 24th, beginning in the mid-seventh century. A procession through the city by clergy, merchants, musicians, and floats of various kinds took place, as well as plays in various squares throughout the city, feasts, a unified march of the sixteen neighborhood districts through the city, all culminating in the *palio*, or horse race, which was the most popular part of the festival with most residents of Florence. The festival was a celebration of religious and civic pride, and grew more elaborate and opulent as the centuries passed.<sup>59</sup>

Over a period of several years, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-1492) gradually co-opted the symbolism of the festival; careful not to appear obvious or heavy-handed about it, but very aware of the symbolic power of the festival, Lorenzo slowly inserted new floats into the processions. These were intended to glorify the magnificence of the Medici family through a somewhat tenuous link to the glories of ancient Rome.<sup>60</sup> Lorenzo also introduced sweeping changes to the content of the festival, including non-Christian aspects. This was a radical departure from the traditions of the San Giovanni festival, as never before had “an overtly pagan theme occupied such a central position” in the festival.<sup>61</sup>

What had once been a republican festival to honor the patron saint of the city became, under the Medici, a propaganda vehicle for the family which marginalized public participation and diminished the importance of San Giovanni while accentuating the history of the Medici. Under Duke Cosimo I (r. 1537-1569), the festival of San Giovanni became a complete glorification of Medici rule—which limited political participation to the elites—with the loss of

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<sup>59</sup> Chretien, *San Giovanni*, 31-41.

<sup>60</sup> Chretien, *The Festival of San Giovanni*, 56-68.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-54.

republican independence was glossed over, and eventually forgotten altogether.<sup>62</sup> Cosimo I continued the decades of subtle changes to the festival. The Medici had been reestablished in power following their return to the city in 1512, and Florentines had become accustomed to their loss of freedom under their Duke of Florence. The festival was irrevocably changed; the Medici “had transformed the city’s most sacred celebration into just another gaudy display of his family’s wealth, power, and history.”<sup>63</sup>

Civic celebrations of all kinds offered countless chances to subtly reshape and manipulate Florentine consciousness, which served the political aims of the Medici; the shrewder members of the family understood this and used these occasions to convey their message. Heidi Chretien convincingly shows that over time, the Medici family was able to link the fortunes of Florence—previously a proud, independent republic with vibrant civic institutions—with the well-being of the family. She argues that “psychological coercion through subtle exploitation of popular culture and visual imagery” proved the most effective way to ensure this link was established, and that it would last for centuries.<sup>64</sup>

Despite its potential as a political tool, sources seem to indicate that the Medici family did quite enjoy *calcio*, and there are numerous examples of what the game meant to the Medici regime.<sup>65</sup> The Medici “usurped *calcio* in the fifteenth century” in a bid to win the loyalty of the city’s youth, with whom the game was tremendously popular.<sup>66</sup> Weddings, and other events celebrating the family, often hosted matches; slowly, the “Florentine game” became as much

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 65-68.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>65</sup> Magoun, Jr., “Il Gioco Del Calcio Fiorentino,” 6.

<sup>66</sup> Zollinger, “Calcio Fiorentino Revisited,” 83; also Horst Bredekamp, *Florentiner Fussball: Die Renaissance der Spiele: Calcio als Fest der Medici* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1993).

associated with the Medici family as with the city itself. Imagining Florence without the Medici was just as difficult as imagining the city without their *calcio*. The Medici targeted all groups and demographics, showing their deployment of the *calcio* at various times was meticulously calculated to provide them the greatest return possible. The youth of the city was perhaps more impressionable, but *calcio* was wildly popular by any standard of measure. For example, a *calcio* match somewhat later, in 1584, drew over 40,000 spectators in the city's main square.<sup>67</sup>

The closeness of the *calcio* players to the nobility with their social status and affluence, created the conditions by which the game gradually moved toward professionalization. Even though common people played the game, the nobility asserted ownership of the game and how it was played. One result of these close ties to the nobility and the elite status of the players—in addition to their wealth and leisure time, which freed them to pursue *calcio*—was the emergence of a specialized—and increasingly professionalized—group of players, who had no other profession than *calcio*.<sup>13</sup> In 1492, Piero the Unfortunate (Piero de' Medici, r.1492-1494) was so addicted to *calcio* that he held matches constantly; this began to draw players from afar to Florence's Piazza Santa Croce, who saw an opportunity for income and the possibility to curry favor with the upper classes.<sup>68</sup> This was part of a larger trend of the shift away from “spontaneous and participatory form of entertainment” toward more formally “organized and commercialized spectator sports.”<sup>69</sup> By collecting an entourage of players that had no other job than *calcio*, and simultaneously co-opting the sport as a noble pastime, the Medici increasingly turned *calcio* into a spectator sport. Of course, this formal organization was not the only instance

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<sup>67</sup> Bredekamp, *Florentiner Fussball*, 115.

<sup>68</sup> Magoun, Francis, “Il Gioco del Calcio Fiorentino,” 5-6.

<sup>69</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture*, 249.

of *calcio* being played, and though texts from the time make reference to football being very ritualized, they also point out that it was played all over in informal settings, much like the modern day appearance of football or soccer.<sup>70</sup> However, the creation of a professional sporting class paved the way for the commercialization of culture in the future.

In *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke discusses commercialization of leisure, and the creation of a "consumer society" and professionalization of sports. With the advent of the printing press, disseminating information was faster than ever before, and could be spread over greater distances than ever before. Additionally, the printed word afforded a degree of permanence that the spoken word did not, allowing performers of all kinds to achieve a degree of fame that spread faster, lasted longer, and resonated with more viewers than was hitherto possible. This, in turn, had a large impact on the lives of people. The speed at which news spread, as well as economic changes and an urbanized population, meant that the lower classes were more politically aware, and more active participants in the commercialization leisure. But the cultural ramifications are more important to Burke; he argues that this spread of printed material commercialized the culture.<sup>71</sup>

Entertainment became an industry as it had never been before, as professional sports began to emerge, along with the "sports idol" as a new phenomenon across Europe.<sup>72</sup> The professionalization of sports signals the commercialization of leisure, and this process also meant that larger enterprises displaced smaller ones in the move toward a modern economy. The

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<sup>70</sup> Joan-Lluis Marfany, "Debate: The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe", *Past & Present* No. 156 (Aug 1997): 187-188.

<sup>71</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture*, 244-286.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.



notoriety and income that could be generated in this new era of commercialized leisure meant that for many individuals, professionalized sport was a career path which could now be explored.

The new explosion of media meant that people could follow a particular sport, team, or individual from greater distances, and the commercialization of leisure developed a situation in which larger enterprises found profit in leisure activities, and began to develop a market at the expense of smaller enterprises. Not only did the explosion of print media lead to the commercialization of sport, but it also allowed for standardization of sport to a degree that had never been possible before. Rules were codified, and a broader, “European sporting culture from the sixteenth century onward.”<sup>73</sup> For example, in 1555 the indoor tennis court of the French royalty was taken as the standard. In 1580, the standard football pitch was sized according to the Florentine model.<sup>74</sup>

For these reasons, it has been argued that the early modern period was “the formative period of modern sport.”<sup>75</sup> Other sports also emerged during the early modern period, both on the Italian peninsula and elsewhere in Europe. In Florence, the *palio* was a traditional horse race run each year in honor of San Giovanni. There has been much work done on the *Palio di Siena*, but it is unclear how much the Sienese version of the race differed from that in Florence.<sup>76</sup> There were rowing, fencing, and boxing in England; tennis and *pallone* (a variant of football) in France; *calcio*, sailing, and horse racing in Italy; shooting competitions, archery, football, and boxing in

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<sup>73</sup> Wolfgang Behringer, “Arena and Pall Mall: Sport in the Early Modern Period,” *German History* 27, no. 3 (2009): 332.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>76</sup> Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1980), 262-263. Trexler admits that there is simply not enough written evidence surviving “to speculate on the sociology of the Florentine palio.”

Germany; and bullfighting, boxing, and javelin-throwing in Spain.<sup>77</sup> The rise in the popularity of sport can be seen in the sheer volume of spectators, such as the 40,000 spectators who attended the *calcio* in 1854 (see p. 55).

There were other developments in sport that led to its professionalization in its early modern period. Increased emphasis on sports education and health among the youth was intensifying, particularly in what is today Italy, France, and Germany. The Italian states often led the way in this area, and commercial ties with the rest of the continent spread their ideas. Throughout the sixteenth century, a variety of traveling sport entrepreneurs—some trading on the name they had made for themselves via their exploits, others simply exploiting the massive popularity in sport—offered their services tutoring sport to wealthy parties. Their qualities and reputations were “so highly prized that people arranged to take lessons or fight tournaments with them,” and there was clearly a good living to be made in sport.<sup>78</sup>

The commercial and political elites each saw an avenue to control sport for their purposes by controlling where it could be played.<sup>79</sup> Additionally, sporting education and pedagogy was written on extensively in the early modern period, and states began developing courses and constructing facilities; parents and students began to choose a university based on their sport offerings, and “academies for young gentlemen planned prestigious sporting facilities to attract wealthy students.”<sup>80</sup> Permanent facilities began to emerge, replacing the old, ad hoc spaces, and

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<sup>77</sup> Behringer, “Arena and Pall Mall,” XXX.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 348-349.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Davis, *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>80</sup> Behringer, “Arena and Pall Mall,” 337.

even the large public squares such as the *Piazza Santa Croce*; designated fields, courts, and arenas were to be the only sporting facilities, and were enforced through strict policing.

*Calcio*, or football, emerged in other parts of the continent as well. However, there was a high degree of inconsistency among the different varieties before the sixteenth century. Thereafter, increased travel, commercial and cultural exchange, and the printed word began to homogenize the game across a greater distance than ever before. Although *calcio fiorentino* was still played in Florence and other parts of Italy, an alternative game began to emerge throughout European cities; one that was standardized.

Pieces of the game began to spread in the seventeenth century, both in terms of geography and in the popular consciousness. There is evidence that Florentine travelers took the game to France, and perhaps elsewhere on the continent—and perhaps even the world—as well.<sup>81</sup> Francis Magoun writes that “in 1650 *calcio* is still one of the great Florentine pastimes: in his epic poem *America*, dedicated to Louis XIV of France and published in that same year, Girolamo Bartolomei-Smeducci (1584-1662) has Amerigo Vespucci order his men to play a game of Florentine *calcio* to gratify the wish of the king of Congo.” Additionally, the game had begun to seep into popular culture; not just in Florence, but throughout the Italian peninsula. The Italian proverbial saying “let him who cannot strike the ball, at least offer interference” (*Chi non puo dare alla palla, sconci*) has its roots in *calcio fiorentino*.<sup>82</sup>

However, by the seventeenth century, contemporaries noted that there was a decline in interest in the traditional, Florentine game, as many people began to turn toward the far less

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<sup>81</sup> Magoun, Jr., “Il Gioco del Calcio Fiorentino,” 10-14.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

violent, “continental” *calcio*. This had to do with a move toward “civilizing” society in general. As society advanced into the modern age, less overt violence was preferable for the genteel society that Europeans aspired to; as a result, the continental (and global) game placed more emphasis on skill than brute strength. However, violent tactics—by today’s standards—remained a focal point of continental association football into the late nineteenth century in England and Scotland, in particular.<sup>83</sup>

Sport in the early modern period was still in the process of developing, and there is controversy among historians today about when exactly “sport” emerged from, and began to replace, “popular games.” Historians agree that this change was complete by the start of the nineteenth century, but when exactly it began is uncertain at this point.<sup>84</sup> Modernization of society touched all parts of life: work and leisure were re-defined. What one did with leisure time began to shift also, and the commercialization of life has picked up pace ever since the early modern period. *Calcio fiorentino* would not be lost, but the continental version, known simply as *calcio*, became the dominant sport in Italy and the world into the present day.

Early modern Europe was the foundation for modern sport in many ways, and Florence was the inspiration for what is the most popular global sport: the modern game of football. The modern game of soccer is, in many ways, equal to the early modern iteration in its ritual and political importance; it has also become an enormous global capitalist enterprise. In early modern Florence, politics was woven tightly into the fabric of the popular *calcio* institution by the Medici family, and was used by the Medicis to further their own personal ambitions. In many

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<sup>83</sup> Jonathan Wilson, *Inverting the Pyramid: A History of Football Tactics* (London: Nation Books, 2013).

<sup>84</sup> John McClelland, “‘Sport’ in Early Modern Europe,” in *Sport and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, eds. John McClelland & Brian Merrilees (Toronto: Center for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2009), 26-27.

ways, this theme was nothing new, and has continued into the present. In varying degrees from the Middle Ages on, religious leaders counted on the popularity of festivals and sport to ensure attendance at, and adherence to, religious gatherings. Although sport in the modern day is no longer religious, there are themes that are consistent with earlier religious gatherings. In today's secularized society, sport has become the religion of millions of people around the world.

The Florentine game survives into the present, and is seen as a very localized source of pride—something that is uniquely “Florentine.” *Calcio Fiorentino* is still played to this day, having been revitalized in the early twentieth century under the Italian fascist regime, who saw it as an ideal expression of masculinity and strength, and it allowed them to link themselves (however tenuously) to the glory days of ancient Rome.<sup>85</sup> In this sense, the fascists of the early twentieth century did what Lorenzo the Magnificent had done centuries before; association with the glories of ancient Rome appears too powerful to resist, regardless of one's political purpose. In Florence under the Medici, however, the game was less an expression of masculinity, and more an expression of wealth and influence. Only later would it become a celebration of the unified Italian spirit.<sup>86</sup>

However, like other state-sponsored spectacles before and since, *calcio fiorentino* was used as a political tool to control both rival elites and lower classes. In the early twentieth century, the Italian fascists used *calcio fiorentino* (at least a modern, re-imagined version of it) to signal the strength, masculinity, and lineage of the Italian people.<sup>87</sup> English sailors introduced

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<sup>85</sup> Medina Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004), 23-25.

<sup>86</sup> Manfred Zollinger, “Calcio Fiorentino Revisited: A Bibliographical Puzzle Finally Solved,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17, no. 4 (2000): 86-87.

<sup>87</sup> Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected*.

association football to Italian port cities like Genoa and Napoli, and it quickly spread to other cities like Milan and Turin. The game was enjoyed by people at all levels of society, and the young Italian nation-state sought to assert its cultural legacy by creating a link back to *calcio fiorentino*; the game had first been called “football” as the English called it, but terminology for the sport was Italianized and it was named *calcio*. The fascist regime had successfully reached into Italy’s glorious past to provide a link to the modern era.

The modern iteration of *calcio fiorentino* is played by four teams, which are designated by color, and represent the four historical neighborhoods of the city: *verdi* (San Giovanni), *bianchi* (Santo Spirito), *rossi* (Santa Maria Novella), and *azzurri* (Santa Croce). The teams are still made up of the same number of players, and the rules are largely the same, though a few adaptations have been made to quell some of the savagery (and potential for injury). The game is still, by modern standards, ferociously violent. Interestingly, the finals of the modern-day *calcio fiorentino* tournament are held on June 24th, which is the saint day of San Giovanni (St. John the Baptist), the patron saint of Florence. Moving *calcio fiorentino* out of carnival season and into the summer was part of the modernization and revitalization of the sport during the fascist regime in the early twentieth century, in order to fall in line with the standard European calendar for association football. The hope was that this move would help Italy compete in other events, and had a part to play in the Italian World Cup wins in 1934 and 1938.<sup>88</sup>

The ritual nature of sport in the early modern period had much to do with the fact that the Christian calendar dominated life, and in their earliest permutations, sporting events were held on religious holidays. At some point after the middle ages, and before the nineteenth century,

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<sup>88</sup> Doidge, “*Il Calcio* as a Source of Local and Social Identity in Italy,” in *Identity Discourses*, 41.

however, the religious festivals began to pale in comparison with the fervent popularity of tennis, boxing, and above all, soccer, or *calcio*.

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## GLOBAL HISTORIOGRAPHY: A READING OF MAJOR WORKS

In the introduction to his book *Ecological Imperialism*, Alfred Crosby discusses what he calls “scenarios” (Thomas Kuhn uses the term “paradigm,” as we will discuss later, but Crosby describes the word as “too ponderous”). Scenarios are what Crosby sees as popular movements or themes in the field of history. These scenarios change over time, and as Crosby was writing thirty years ago, he was perhaps unaware of the change in thinking he was helping to advance. That change is what this essay hopes to examine at greater length.

Increasingly, historians have attempted to place their work into a global context, and take into account a variety of factors, both external and internal, that may have traditionally been overlooked. “It is easy—even fun—to criticize the historians of the Victorian era,” Alfred Crosby writes, “but they did nothing more contemptible than to draw their conclusions from the evidence they had at hand.”<sup>1</sup> The evidence was that Europe had conquered much of the globe, and had made a technological quantum leap via the Industrial Revolution. The rest of the world—the land and the indigenous peoples who had previously inhabited it—hardly featured at all.

The following works all take as one common theme their deconstruction of the long-held belief—one often ingrained in the (Western) subconscious—that Europe has led the world for centuries. Karen Wigen and Martin Lewis play with the shifting concept of “the West” in their work; Alfred Crosby argues that the Europeans had fortune on their side as the ecology often played an active role in their conquests; Daniel Headrick presents the case that technology made

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), xvi.

conquest affordable. These works all take a swing at the idea that Europe is the natural center of the globe by analyzing how the historical events have unfolded. Other works expand on this core theme, by taking another perspective of the argument against Eurocentrism. To deconstruct this idea, they focus on the other side—the story not traditionally told. John Thornton, in his book, makes the case for African agency in the transatlantic slave trade. James Gump compares the common experiences of the Zulu and the Sioux as they fought (and lost) against colonialism. John Dower shows the victorious United States' darker side in the Pacific Theater during World War Two.

The second theme of this paper, illustrated most prominently by Thomas Kuhn's seminal work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, is included because it not only creates the history of science as a distinct field, but it also serves to illustrate how the field of history operates as a whole. Kuhn's overall argument serves as a sort of meta-guide to writing and working in the field of history. The great many historical works, in all fields of history, don't advance the field in any significant way; instead, they focus on filling in the gaps that exist in historians' general knowledge of the past. This is a useful and valuable contribution to the overall field of history, since not every work can be groundbreaking. This is in no way meant to sound patronizing or condescending toward the vast majority of historical works, but rather it is meant to highlight the importance of the collection of works reviewed in this paper. When so much in the field of history is mere "puzzle-solving," those who serve to advance the field in a significant way stand out all the more. As this paper shall serve to discuss a range of works that have significantly impacted the field of history in some way, a thorough understanding of Kuhn is required.

There is value in a wider perspective. Isolating a subject from others often does not show an innate disservice to the subject; placing it in context with other events, or contrasting it with other events happening elsewhere, can immediately bring a richness and greater potential for analysis to a work. Another thrust created in the new wave of historical works is global in nature. Enjoying more than one perspective can enhance the narrative, as many of the above-mentioned works have shown.

A huge shift was caused by Thomas Kuhn's work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Prior to Kuhn's pioneering work, science and history were two distinct disciplines; Kuhn merged them and almost single-handedly created the History of Science as a new field for historians to discover. According to Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, the scientific community is extremely efficient and lives by its own guidelines. Kuhn's basic thesis is that research in "normal science" is not about discovering the unknown; rather, it is about reinforcing the existing paradigms that the scientific community has agreed upon. When research shows a paradigm to be problematic, flawed, or incomplete, a new paradigm must emerge in its place. Research is therefore not about the discovery of the unknown, but rather "a strenuous and devoted attempt to force nature into the conceptual boxes supplied by professional education".<sup>2</sup> These boxes are what he calls "paradigms." According to Kuhn, most normal science, which is what the majority of the scientific community engages in, is what he calls "puzzle-solving." The puzzles which need to be solved can be explained as gaps, or spaces, in the framework established by the then-prominent paradigm. A paradigm is a theory which has come to be accepted by the scientific community which it represents, and governs that community's research

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 2.

and forms the basis for its presumed knowledge; there are many paradigms at any given time, for the various fields of science—chemistry, astronomy, or physics, for example—or even within the same subset of science.<sup>3</sup>

In many ways, Kuhn is describing the field of history as much as he is describing the field of science. As mentioned above, the vast number of historical works simply work to reinforce the dominant paradigm of the time in which they are published. It is not until a new work comes along, that significantly impacts what exists, that the entire field moves in a new direction—examples of this might include Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, or Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*. These works impacted the field to a degree that they were impossible to ignore thereafter, and force authors to acknowledge those works and establish their own in relation to them.

Thomas Kuhn labels the pre-paradigm era of the field of science a “crisis;” many competing theories vied for superiority, and the community was divided accordingly. These fractures prevented meaningful, scientific advances. When a paradigm emerges, and is ultimately accepted as being better than its competitors, it does not ever fully explain all possible counter-arguments or facts with which it may be confronted—this is the purpose of scientific research. Accumulated research confirms and strengthens the existing paradigm, and leads to a greater degree of precision and accuracy as research continues. Only when the scientist can accurately and precisely predict what will happen in a line of research will he or she be able to recognize an anomaly—that which goes against the existing paradigm. The paradigm resists change, so only those which profoundly impact existing science can lead to a paradigm change. An anomaly

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<sup>3</sup> Kuhn, *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 10-11.

powerful enough to invalidate the current paradigm and establish a new one entirely is called a scientific revolution.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, Kuhn makes the case that science is unique from other disciplines in the way that it trains its future generations of scholars and workers. Rather than reading “the classics” of a given field in that way that students of history or philosophy might, students of science learn via textbooks. This “textbook approach” is used because science, at any given time, operates on the basic assumption that it knows how the world functions. This basic belief is not only important in the construction of textbooks, but also informs how science sees its role in the world.<sup>5</sup> Paradigms are accepted as fundamental truths; other fields of study, particularly the social sciences, do not have equivalent principles. Each time a paradigm is discarded, and its associated field reconstructed, the existing textbook must be discarded and new one formulated. The paradigm which has just been replaced is proven to be ineffective, and more importantly, incorrect. Therefore, it need not be included—in fact, it would be detrimental if it were included—in the creation of the new text.<sup>6</sup>

Karen Wigen and Martin Lewis challenge the traditional construction of what they term “metageography” in their work, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. The geographical paradigm that has existed for centuries is what they aim to deconstruct. Wigen and Lewis take issue with the way the world has been conceived through primarily European eyes, and seek to fashion a more egalitarian construction of global geography, and to an extent, human history.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 17-19.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 137-140.

The term “metageography” is defined by the authors as “the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world,”<sup>7</sup> and is used in all levels of education. Lewis and Wigen see the current use of continents as wrong; using these large landmasses to illustrate social or natural boundaries is fundamentally flawed. Though many scholars would likely not disagree with this assessment, Lewis and Wigen present their argument for why this is the case, and propose a solution of their own to enrich our geographical understanding of the world.<sup>8</sup> The authors’ thesis is simple: that all division and naming of spaces on the globe into continents, states, cultures, and regions is ultimately arbitrary, and that much of what we use today owes to the tradition of European/Western imperialism and conception of modernity. This explains, in large part, the Western geographical model’s hegemony despite the relatively small and homogeneous zone which it originated in—Europe. Wigen and Lewis posit that with post-Cold War boundaries in flux, we can no longer rely on antiquated models of what the world looks like; the entire global classification system is in need of a reevaluation.<sup>9</sup>

At its core, Lewis and Wigen’s *The Myth of Continents* challenges three basic myths. The first is the misconception that the continents have inherent social or natural boundaries.<sup>10</sup> The authors argue that Eurocentrism is one of the tacit assumptions of the continental classification system. From ancient Greece to the twentieth century, Lewis and Wigen show the long history of the oversimplification of geography by relying on large, continental landmasses.<sup>11</sup> The second is the line separating West and East (in which Africa threatens to fall off altogether.) Lewis and

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<sup>7</sup> Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), xi.

<sup>8</sup> Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, 157-158.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-194.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-12.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-10.

Wigen do an excellent job in tracing the long—and ever-changing—history of “East” and “West”, showing that our conception of each has shifted tremendously over time.<sup>12</sup>

The third myth is the nation-state and the idea that they nation-states are “a natural and fundamental building blocks of global geography,” when rather they are “constructed, contingent, and often imposed political-geographic units.”<sup>13</sup> Benedict Anderson agrees here, but argues rather that the map is not what is a gross oversimplification; it is simply the representation of the nation-state, which is itself reductive and overly simplified idea of what lies inside its boundaries. It is, as Lewis and Wigen have explained, ultimately arbitrary and used for political motivations rather than as a subjective system of classification—though the nation-state would present itself as just that, according to Anderson.<sup>14</sup>

Wigen and Lewis end by presenting their own idea for how to reconstruct metageography. The authors’ model relies on the use of geographic regions, despite their assertion that “global human geography is not reducible to any single one-dimensional schema,”<sup>15</sup> based on the world’s major civilizations and religious groups. The fourteen regions that the authors propose should be pliable enough to serve as an elementary model as well as stand up to the scrutiny of more advanced scholarship. It is not entirely clear what the benefit of this approach would be—to combat Eurocentrism? To break down artificial nation-state barriers? To give students of geography a better model to work with when studying or researching?

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 49-62.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>14</sup> Anderson, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso Press, 1991), 165.

<sup>15</sup> Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, 154.



Lewis and Wigen argue that the nation-state is a “dubious concept for economic as much as for cultural analysis”<sup>16</sup> as it incorrectly aggregates a wide array of people and their social, cultural, and religious practices into a solid, mappable unit. And yet: Nationalism, the nation, and the nation-state are some of the most powerful 20th century constructs, were among the dominant historical paradigms for decades, and taken for granted by many. Many laypeople and scholars assumed the roots of nationalism were in the distant past. Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* challenges this fact. In a relatively short work, Anderson lays out the origins of the nation, which he calls “the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time.”<sup>17</sup> Anderson’s principal point is that the nation (and nationalism) is an inherently modern phenomenon, and has three main causes: older forms of identity losing their credibility, marginalized colonial elites in search of more power, and the rise of what Anderson calls “print-capitalism.”

Anderson’s first step in explaining the rise of nationalism is to trace its cultural roots. He explains the rise of nationalism in conjunction with the decline of two fundamental forms of identity that were seen as indispensable in their days: religious community and dynastic realm. First, Europe’s confrontation with the New World and the consequent realization of religious pluralism had a profound effect. More centrally, however, was that the main language of Christianity, Latin, was being encroached upon by various local vernaculars—“the fall of Latin exemplified a larger process in which sacred communities integrated by old languages were gradually fragmented, pluralized, and territorialized.”<sup>18</sup> Anderson argues that Latin was never a

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>17</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 19.

feasible bureaucratic or administrative language, and so vernaculars were adopted by governments, thus making Latin increasingly irrelevant. Centralized governments needed the “documentary interchangeability” required, and in turn helped to reinforce a “language-of-state.”<sup>19</sup> The fact that religion played a smaller role in the daily lives of people also was important. As European society (and its colonial holdings) became increasingly secularized with the decline of the importance of religion, people still wanted the meaning that religion gave to the world, and “few things were (are) better suited to this end than the idea of nation.”<sup>20</sup> People inherently search for the meaning that religion gives, argues Anderson. The nation became the community that religion had been before it.

Print-capitalism was able to reach people in a way that had never been possible before. In many ways, newspapers created a readership whose boundaries roughly defined the nation. Vernaculars were also “important instruments of administrative centralization,”<sup>21</sup> as Anderson argues that Latin could never take hold as a political language the way it did as a religious language in Europe. He gives three main reasons for the success of print-capitalism in spreading language and creating a national consciousness. First, it created a unified language that was neither as obscure as Latin nor as regionalized as local vernaculars. Second, it gave fixity to language that in the long run helped to “the image of antiquity” that he argues is crucial in creating a nation.<sup>22</sup> Lastly, Anderson argues that the languages that dominated print were close enough to the regional vernaculars to allow them to assimilate to their dominant cousin. Not only

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 44.

was print-capitalism is shown to be a major factor in the rise of nationalism, but also what Anderson terms “print-language.”

The chapter “Old Languages, New Models” posits that the rise of dictionaries and grammars of previously obscure vernaculars unlocked the doors to new imagined communities. These nationalist movements embraced all who spoke the language of the nation, and for this reason had to be populist movements. Politicizing language had enormous advantages for the state.

Their criticism of the nation-state is familiar when placed next to Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*. Anderson takes three modern phenomena—the census, the map, and the museum—and argues that rather than simple ambassadors of the nation, they reify the cultural and political authority of the nation and fundamentally shape the “geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry.”<sup>23</sup> They are borne out of the bureaucracy of the nation and the European colonizers need to classify and label everything from flora and fauna, to the natives they find. The museums, and the larger phenomenon of archaeology, help to secularize the nation. A museum is an inherently political arena, and so “monumental archaeology, increasingly linked to tourism, allowed the state to appear as the guardian of a generalized, but also local, Tradition.”<sup>24</sup> Archaeology connects the past with the present, and putting it in a museum solidifies its historical “truth.” The creation of the logo-map marked off territory and made people much more conscious of a national space, and monumental archaeology, “maturing in the age of mechanical reproduction, was profoundly political...it was precisely the infinite

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 181.

quotidian reproducibility of its regalia that revealed the true power of the state.”<sup>25</sup> Lewis and Wigen trace the roots of European geography in their work and show why it has developed a number of deficiencies, but they talk about the desire to simplify and classify through geography. Wigen and Lewis tend to complicate things a bit too much, but in their desire to destroy the longstanding geographic paradigm, they must present a forceful case. In general, however, they agree with Anderson and their work helps to elucidate Anderson’s chapter on the modern logo-map.

Finally, the census claims to include everyone and puts each person of the nation into categories. The problems here are two-fold: first, only ‘members’ of the nation are included in the census, and secondly, each individual checks one box. As Anderson notes, there are “no fractions.”<sup>26</sup> Herein again is the fallacy that a shape on a map is a clean division of people of all kinds of backgrounds, beliefs, and religions. Lewis and Wigen are trying to reshape the map and break up the traditional boundaries—flawed as they show them to be—that have dominated the map for centuries. Anderson shows the beginnings of the nation-state as we know it, and Lewis and Wigen show us a way forward without relying on them as we have for so long.

Anderson’s analysis of the beginnings of the nation is still considered a seminal work, if not the seminal work, on the subject. Other seminal works have taken seemingly disparate comparisons, taking two events, groups, or subjects and marrying them together. Comparative history has, over the past decade or more, become a popular way to bring new life to apparently old subjects. Beyond comparative history, global history has also grown into one of the most

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 166.

popular new approaches to historical analysis. One of these interesting comparisons takes the Sioux and the Zulu, particularly in their respective battles against imperial outsiders. In James Gump's *The Dust Rose Like Smoke*, the pivotal battles of Wounded Knee (1890) and Rorke's Drift (1879) are taken as two individual events that appear to be independent until put into a global context. This larger context allows a view at the larger forces and trends in action at the time.

Gump focuses his work on two groups that have much in common. The Sioux and the Zulu represent two expansive, aggressive preindustrial societies, gaining dominance in their respective regions during much of the nineteenth century, adapting to changing ecological, economic, and political conditions. They each had effective military systems and were feared by other regional indigenous groups, and faced Western settlers at approximately the same time. Gump is certainly not the first to have made a comparison between such apparently dissimilar groups, but his global perspective helps bring his subjects to light.

The foundation of Gump's work is based around three basic comparisons. First, both groups had their own established empires prior to their fateful interactions with whites.<sup>27</sup> Secondly, both the Sioux and the Zulu inflicted serious defeats on their imperial enemies at Little Big Horn and Ishandhlwana, respectively. Finally, both were represented as quintessential "noble savages" in popular culture by the late nineteenth century, which, Gump argues, continues to modern times.<sup>28</sup> These comparisons form the bulk of Gump's work, and he shows convincingly that there are many similarities between the subjugation of the Sioux and the Zulu. The

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<sup>27</sup> James Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke: The Subjugation of the Zulu and the Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 30-37.

<sup>28</sup> Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke*, 24-26.

approaches of the imperialists were also similar: using regional collaborators and middle-men to help deal with their indigenous enemies, and promoting factionalism, they greatly weakened both the Sioux and the Zulu.<sup>29</sup>

However, there are also a number of differences in the two scenarios, chief among them the approaches of the imperialists. The British primarily wanted to access to a pool of laborers and turned what had been a largely agricultural people into migrant workers. By contrast, the Americans were drawn to the land inhabited by the Sioux, which held agricultural potential and raw materials and resources; the Sioux simply stood in the way of that objective.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, Gump shows that the Zulu were a centralized kingdom, where the Sioux were a more flexible and decentralized group; this played a part in how the two scenarios ultimately played out.<sup>31</sup>

Gump's most novel insight may be the final section of his book, in which he discusses the construction of mythological images that continue to occupy popular consciousness in the West. In newspapers, poems, paintings, and prints, white audiences saw the events at Little Big Horn and Ishandhlwana displayed as representations of "civilization beating back the forces of savagery and barbarism."<sup>32</sup> In America, illustrations consistently showed Custer, elevated and at the center of the frame, beating back the advancing hordes of Native Americans, who were simultaneously ruthlessly slaughtering white soldiers with bloodlust and abandon. In England, brave English troops were mounted on horseback as they valiantly attempted to beat back faceless armies of Zulu swarming them. In both cases, the white soldiers were quite literally elevated above their non-white enemies by the illustrators. Poems used visceral language to

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 55-72.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 102-103.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 38-53.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 131.

appeal to audiences back home, and politicians on both sides of the Atlantic were keen to use the events to drum up support for increased military action.

For the Americans and the English alike, defeat at the hands of “savages” was hard to comprehend. The press was, in both cases, unprepared; both nations were “conditioned by a sense of Anglo-Saxon cultural superiority, and therefore found the press taken by surprise.”<sup>33</sup> Neither battle was well covered, and as word returned home about the events that had unfolded, correspondents were dispatched with haste. As a result, virtually all of the information that was available to audiences at home was either completely or almost completely fabricated. From small details to large, most information, was thoroughly inaccurate. For example, historians now believe that the majority of “Custer’s Last Stand” actually transpired without the legendary cavalryman, as Indian testimony indicates he most likely died early in the battle. The narrative was amended as it was written, and General Custer passed into mythical status.<sup>34</sup>

This perversion of the narrative for the purposes of military mobilization and political gain is equally the subject of John Dower’s *War Without Mercy*. Dower uses media and popular culture to paint a picture of American savagery toward the Japanese during World War Two. Gump includes important popular culture sources in his work, but is far more limited than Dower, who had a much greater volume with which to work. The points that Dower makes, however, are consistent with Gump’s findings about the Sioux and the Zulu.

However hasty and misleading these accounts may have been, they were accepted by audiences. The print media politicized the battles by assigning scapegoats and fashioned images

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 124.

that passed swiftly into popular culture. These representations exist in many way to this day, as Westerners have compensated for their lack of an understanding by constructing images of their “Other” in accordance with their own imaginations—this was equally in Dower’s time as in Gump’s. The Zulu and the Sioux were both “reconstructed into quintessential noble savages, admired because their martial virtuosity seemed almost westernlike,”<sup>35</sup> but were simultaneously reviled for their savagery and barbarous instincts. Gump illustrates his point that these characterizations still endure today with two twentieth-century films, one each about the Zulu (*Untamed*, 1952) and the Sioux (*Dances with Wolves*, 1990).

Gump stressed his two comparative groups were not static entities, lacking agency; the Sioux and the Zulu were political actors in their own right, and “both societies were engaged in their own subimperialisms, dominating and subjugating such groups as the Pawnees, Crows, Ndwandwe, and Ngwane.”<sup>36</sup> External forces were major factors in their decline— industrialization, capitalism, racism, and colonialism—but the decline of the Sioux and the Zulu had as much to do with their own decisions and internal machinations. John Thornton’s *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* is a work that argues for a great deal of African agency in the Atlantic trade. Much like Gump, Thornton shows that the actors in his book were instrumental in the creation of the Atlantic world to a degree that had previously not been realized. Thornton’s work ran contrary to many, if not most, accounts at the time. He challenged the accepted status quo for the Transatlantic slave trade and forged a new narrative.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 2.



Thornton's central claim is that Africans were co-architects of the Atlantic world. The African primacy in the development of the Atlantic world was because "in Africa, it was they who would determine their commercial role, and in America...even when they played no particular political role, they would capitalize on the incompleteness of European domination."<sup>37</sup> Whereas the Zulu in Gump's work became a migrant labor pool for the English despite their efforts to resist and later rebel, Thornton's African examples did not need the Europeans, and were not subjugated economically or militarily.

In the first section of his book, Thornton shows that African economies were sufficiently advanced to compete with those in Europe, and Europe offered Africans nothing that they did not already have. African cloth production and metallurgy were equal to, if not better than, those from Europe; trade for European goods was often out of a "desire for variety."<sup>38</sup> Well-developed African domestic economies, and strong purchasing power allowed European goods to be imported to suit changing tastes. Trade was "competitive, probably favoring no particular national or regional actors—and certainly not Europeans at the expense of Africans."<sup>39</sup> Slavery, Thornton explains, was a central part of African social, political, and economic orders in western Africa. Demand for more slave labor in the New World was not a defining factor in the nature of slavery in Africa as had been previously believed. African involvement in the slave trade "was voluntary and under the control of African decision makers...Europeans possessed no means, either economic or military, to compel African leaders to sell slaves."<sup>40</sup> Much like the Zulu and

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<sup>37</sup> John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 42.

<sup>38</sup> Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 45.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

Sioux in Gump's narrative, the Africans who participated in the slave trade were willing participants; they were actors in their own right, and had an agency that had been stripped from them in previous works. Political motives were behind their decisions to interact with the Europeans as much with the Africans in the 17th century as with the Sioux a century and a half later.

The second section of Thornton's book focuses on the impact of Africans outside of the African continent. Thornton focuses on the cultural heritage these migrants brought with them, based in language, aesthetics, and philosophy. The book challenges the notion that African slaves came from too diverse of populations, were too brutalized, and had social organizations that were too fragmented to maintain or reconstruct African cultural elements in the New World. Thornton examines the cultural backgrounds of the slaves shipped to the Americas, arguing there was much cultural familiarity and homogeneity in western Africa, which challenges the previous ideas of wildly disparate societies thrown together for the Middle Passage to the New World. Thornton makes the case for three primary groups in western Africa, so many of those who were sent to the New World likely had some familiarity with cultural and social imports of other slaves. Despite this familiarity, new cultures would be formed and maintained in the New World. Once slaves arrived in the Americas, the conditions of life and work in the New World were often difficult. The Middle Passage broke many traditional social bonds that held Africans together, and "plantation life, with its harsh labor regimes, unstable family units, and high mortality"<sup>41</sup> made rebuilding these bonds incredibly hard. However, it often gave rise to new

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 153.

communities which were “culturally self-sustaining.”<sup>42</sup> Working conditions varied wildly from plantation to plantation, and even within the same plantation, depending on the type of work done and the personality of the master.

African cultural groups survived and changed over time, but the harshness of life as a slave did not eradicate social and cultural traditions entirely. Even in the most brutal of slave systems, “slave communities formed, children were raised, and culture was maintained, altered, and transmitted...the condition of slavery, by itself, did not necessarily prevent the development of an African-oriented culture.”<sup>43</sup> The massive personal upheaval experienced by slaves during the enslavement, sale, transfer, and relocation to the Americas was awful for individuals, but “its effect on the culture may have been much less than many suggest.”<sup>44</sup>

Thornton argues for African independence and self-reliance; that the economic and military power of Europeans did not force the Africans into providing slaves or other goods. For the time period he covers (roughly the early 15th to early 19th centuries), Thornton convincingly shows that this was indeed the case. However, European technology played an enormous part in the exploitation of the African continent and its inhabitants in the nineteenth century. In *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, Daniel Headrick sets out to provide a fresh insight into European success on other continents.

Headrick sets out to unify what had been previously thought of as two separate processes which occurred throughout the nineteenth century. First, the rapid advancement of industrial technology, and second, the domination and exploitation of Asia and Africa by Europeans. What

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 204-205.

makes Headrick's approach novel is the fact that he is attempting to link two previously distinct fields and explain how they each fed into the other. Hedrick asks a simple question: what drove the European imperialists to seek out other lands to extend their influence? Behind this question is "the tacit assumption that once Europeans wanted to spread their influence, they could readily do so, for they had the means close at hand."<sup>45</sup>

James Gump noted that while the Zulu and the Sioux could buy repeating rifles, but they lacked the industrial capacity to construct them, and "the capability to manufacture millions of complex weapons on short order gave the West a decisive edge in its wars against indigenous foes, regardless of whether these groups resided in the North American Great Plains or in Africa."<sup>46</sup> In essence, this is what Headrick's argument is, too, though he expands beyond guns into a wide variety of technological marvel which include medicine, communication, transportation, and, of course, weapons.

Headrick's work is divided into three parts: in the first, he discusses the "tools of penetration," which include ships to reach China and the Indian subcontinent, and medicines which mean the trip into the African continent is no longer suicidal; in the second, he discusses the improvements in guns, their manufacture, and tactics to accompany them; in the third, Headrick discusses the proliferation of overland railroad lines, improvements in shipping technology and efficiency, and inter-continental and inter-oceanic communications. All of these had massive consequences for the world as European reach became increasingly vast and incontestable. Benedict Anderson argues in *Imagined Communities* that a change in "conception

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<sup>45</sup> Daniel Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 5.

<sup>46</sup> Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke*, 3.

of temporality”<sup>47</sup> that allowed people to imagine the simultaneity of time, creating an ability to imagine a community with others “like them” even though they may never meet or interact in any way with this imagined community. Anderson’s print-capitalism plays into the argument Headrick makes as well; faster communications made the world smaller, and allowed colonial metropolises to imagine the faraway lands seem closer and more relevant to daily life than ever before.

Ultimately, Headrick determines that “the flow of new technologies in the nineteenth century made imperialism so cheap that it reached the threshold of acceptance among the peoples and governments of Europe, and led nations to become empires.”<sup>48</sup> Despite any other motivations that may have existed—political, business, and diplomatic—the fact that the conquest of large swaths of land far from home came with so few costs and risks was the predominant driver for imperialism. If there is a weakness to Headrick’s argument, it is here: he takes the simple fact that Europeans had the technological means for conquest as the motive for conquest. The author provides very little to explain the motivations beyond the simple fact that Europeans had the capacity for conquering vast swaths of the map. Still, his central thesis is good, and he convincingly shows that the overwhelming superiority of European technology meant imperialism came with relatively few risks in the nineteenth century. Operating from an extreme—and ever-widening—technological advantage meant that Europeans could relatively easily and inexpensively dominate remote parts of the globe.

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<sup>47</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36.

<sup>48</sup> Headrick, *The Tools of Empire*, 206

The importance of tools to subjugate and exploit new areas of the globe is the core of Headrick's argument on why European imperialism was so successful in the nineteenth century. Alfred Crosby argues that there was an even more significant reason why European imperialists were triumphant against indigenous peoples. In *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, Crosby argues that "the success of the portmanteau biota and of its dominant member, the European human, was a team effort by organisms that had evolved in conflict and cooperation over a long time."<sup>49</sup> Crosby, like Headrick, does not take European superiority at face value; where Headrick explored superior technology, Crosby takes on ecology.

Crosby's work was part of a movement in history to identify new reasons for the European expansion, imperialism, and colonialism across the globe that has defined the past several centuries. Crosby wrote in his introduction that he hoped to help bring about a change in thought, and lead the way to a new scenario—what Kuhn termed a "paradigmatic shift"—in historical thinking and writing. Thirty years ago, Crosby could not imagine the impact his work would have, and it is now clear that *Ecological Imperialism* was at the front of the new way of thinking, and did indeed lead to a new paradigm in history.

Using ecology as a factor to show how Europeans were able to dominate is a new approach to analyzing imperialism. The Old World had two crucial ingredients to creating a reservoir of highly infectious epidemic diseases: sedentary agriculture and a dense population. Two examples are smallpox and measles, which "either kill or produce lasting immunity and

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<sup>49</sup> Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, 293.

have no carriers except humans.”<sup>50</sup> Diseases like this had never been seen in the New World, and had a devastating effect on the vulnerable indigenous populations.

Crosby shows why some attempts at earlier colonization failed. The Norse failure to hold Iceland, Greenland, and North America was due to the fact that they were already isolated, and therefore insulated, from the Old World diseases. Crosby argues their general lack of disease-carriers—and the immunity to those diseases—prevented them from entrenching themselves on land they discovered; they needed “something with genocidal potentiality”<sup>51</sup> to gain a secure foothold over the native ecology. Similarly, the Crusaders in the Levant were unable to hold their gains, which Crosby attributes to unfamiliar diseases (in an strange climate) and a low birth rate. In essence: the Crusaders could not hold any territory because their death rate vastly outpaced their birth rate. Diseases killed too many people before they could successfully reproduce. Though this can, at times, seem overly simplistic—surely other factors contributed in both cases—in support of Crosby’s overall argument, approaching old cases with a new lens yields new discoveries.<sup>52</sup>

That is not to say that Crosby’s argument is without flaws. Often, the reader is led to the conclusion that “portmanteau biota” are working together, consciously or otherwise, toward the same goal. This can have the effect of making European colonialism seem inevitable, and perhaps removing some of the blame attached to very conscious human choices. Hedrick successfully showed that it was a willful human choice, which was rendered inexpensive by European technology; Crosby treats biota as an extension of that technology, which it is not

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 63-67.

necessarily. The Crusaders were faced with isolation inside their cities, surrounded by enemies who outnumbered them, and were well supplied, organized, and led. That they were familiar with the weather and immune to local diseases surely was a contributing factor, it may not have been the decisive one.<sup>53</sup>

Crosby also attributes some of the growth of his “Neo-Europes” to technological advancement. In his chapter “Winds,” Crosby describes the European discovery of wind patterns and oceanic currents, which were crucial in successfully navigating the large oceans that separated the Old World from the New World.<sup>54</sup> Sailors attempting to traverse the ocean required a deep understanding of the winds that allowed to to sail out and back.<sup>55</sup> That slow process was also marked by other improvements in navigation and ship construction. Crosby uses the Portuguese journey to the Canaries as an example to illustrate this development, but also the piece-meal construction of various bits of knowledge gleaned from expeditions along the African coast.<sup>56</sup> These were all precursors to the nineteenth century explosion in technology that placed Europe far ahead of much of the rest of the world and allowed the increased exploitation of the planet by Europeans.

Ultimately, Headrick and Crosby are arguing largely the same point: European domination was not inevitable or natural, and relied on a variety of factors, both internal and external. There was one interesting exception in the nineteenth century expansion of European power: “only Japan succeeded in keeping abreast of Western technological achievements.”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 59-62.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 104-131.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 112-114.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 71-76,

<sup>57</sup> Headrick, *The Tools of Empire*, 208.



John Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* takes a closer look at Japan during the Second World War, and asks why the war between the United States and Japan was marked by a much higher level of brutality and racism than any other theater of the war.

Dower conducts an excellent examination of the role played by race in the Pacific Theater of the Second World War. Dower argues that because race played a major role in how both sides thought and acted during the war, it is a good comparative case worth studying. He adds that while many things about WWII were novel, the way in which race was used was “familiar in practice and formulaic in the ways it was expressed.”<sup>58</sup> Dower goes beyond what he calls “traditional sources” and dives into cultural artifacts in addition to the academic sources which are generally the norm for works of history. In recent years there has been a veritable explosion in works focusing on cultural artifacts, but Dower's work is now almost three decades old. At the time, perhaps, this was a genuinely new approach; he certainly seems to think so, and has framed his work accordingly.

Dower essentially asks why the war in the Pacific was so much more brutal and savage than that in Europe, and answers by saying that the former was racist in a way that the latter was not. Dower uses a variety of wartime sources to make his case, including movies (including Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series), pamphlets, guidebooks, cartoons, and newspapers, which all point irrefutably to the existence of a broad-based racism toward the Japanese. This racism in the West (particularly the United States) is used to de-humanize, disparage, and demote the Japanese to the level of apes, insects, or other vermin. In two excellent chapters at the heart of Dower's examination of the American racism toward Japan, “Lesser Men and Supermen” and

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<sup>58</sup> John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), xi.

“Primitives, Children, Madmen,” the author shows the various portrayals of the Japanese in popular culture. Such perception, Dower argues, made possible atrocities up to, and including, the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This racism has its roots in the nineteenth century, as Europeans “began to confuse level of technology with levels of culture in general, and finally with biological capacity...easy conquests had warped the judgement of even the scientific elite.”<sup>59</sup>

The Japanese racism was used to build up the national character and position in regards to the West (and other Asians), but also depicted Westerners as demonic beings.<sup>60</sup> Again using an exemplary range of sources, Dower shows that depictions of Americans in Japan included lynching blacks, incarcerating U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry, executing prisoners, and delighting in pillaging the bones from enemy dead.<sup>61</sup> The Japanese believed their racial purity and their moral superiority inclined them to be the predominate power in Asia, and perhaps even of the world. Atrocities along the way—and there were many, as Dower points out—to that aim were implicitly authorized by this mode of thinking.<sup>62</sup>

The interplay and coexistence of the ideologies Dower presents are fascinating. To the Japanese, homogeneity, unity, and common purpose were evidence of their superiority; to the Americans these were proof of Japan’s lack of civilization. Americans glorified rugged individualism, entrepreneurship, and individual liberty, but the Japanese took this as a sign of racial depravity and collective inability to work toward a worthwhile common goal (as well as

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<sup>59</sup> Headrick, *The Tools of Empire*, 209.

<sup>60</sup> Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 238-240.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 247-248.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.

their inability to peacefully coexist with blacks and American Indians). The sheer volume of sources involved—and their variety—makes Dower’s work compelling and convincing.<sup>63</sup>

After the frenzied killing and racist rhetoric of extermination, then, how could there suddenly be such a shift to a seemingly peaceful occupation and subsequent friendly relations? Japanese and the American racial world views were malleable and inconsistent. Though the American racism was based solidly on color, it was inconsistent; there were other Asians, such as the Chinese, which were seen as more desirable. However, the “Yellow peril,” included the fear of all Asians rising up against the U.S., and Dower shows that this went all the way to the top by including presidential notes and diaries. The malleability of the racist code words and images helped to ensure that they could be turned inside out. The yellow ape became the friendly monkey on the GI’s shoulder; the child-like Japanese could be shown how to mature and civilize. The Japanese, for their part, participated equally: the emperor Hirohito asked the people to endure defeat, the monarchy was preserved, and Japan’s struggle to find its place in the world started over.<sup>64</sup> The search for purity could continue, not on the battlefield, but in cleansing those responsible for leading the nation into war in the first place. Dower’s central thesis, that the racism in the Pacific theater of WWII “contributed to...the adoption of exterminationist policies”<sup>65</sup> and created a war without mercy, is well documented and argued. His use of wide range of sources, including many found in popular culture, helped his argument considerably. Cultural artifacts like the ones Dower used are easier to find for more recent historical analysis; sadly records are far more scarce for subjects from the more distant past.

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 203-205.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 301-317.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., x.

The innovative topics, comparisons, and sources used in these works have added depth and breadth to historical analysis, helped to push the field forward, and put a microscope on topics and trends long thought to have been “figured out.” Alfred Crosby and Daniel Headrick helped push historians to look for new reasons for the success of European expansion across the globe, John Thornton and James Gump argued for agency among the groups which were colonized and exploited by the imperialists, and Lewis and Wigen made the case for a new geographical paradigm. All of these works pushed at the boundaries of historians, expanded the field of history, or broke down previous barriers to new topics of study.

Many of the authors reviewed used novel ways of approaching older topics, and placed things into a global context. Gump’s comparison of the Zulu and the Sioux experiences with Western colonial powers, and Thornton’s argument for African agency in the shaping of the Atlantic world are two prime examples of a fresh perspective on old themes; they were also comparative, and global in perspective. Thomas Kuhn created a new field—the history of science—and his analysis is equally appropriate to both history and science. Benedict Anderson argued the antecedents for the nation and the nation-state are not in the distant past, as many had previously proclaimed; Lewis and Wigen also took aim at the nation-state as one of the founding myths of their work, *The Myth of Continents*, but went further and argued that the very foundation of our collective geographic consciousness had to be reevaluated in order to provide a more meaningful basis for our present knowledge, and future scholarship. A fresh perspective on the means and motives for imperialism were provided by Alfred Crosby, who argued that ecology was just as impactful as human endeavor in the exploitation of people all over the world by Europeans, and Daniel Headrick, who argued that technology drove Europeans to colonize because it made it easy and inexpensive.

Not all of the works reviewed in this essay caused a paradigmatic shift like Kuhn described, but some of them did. For others, their work reinforced the dominant paradigm that others before them had created. Not all historians or historical works are revolutionary; most of us are the “puzzle-solvers” Kuhn described.

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