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HISTORY '16 / III. INTERNATIONAL HISTORY CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

A CRITIQUE OF HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

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"To be independent of public opinion is the first formal condition of achieving anything great."
Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel

Abstract

This paper aims at demonstrating the Hegelian concept of the philosophy of the History. The terms, Spirit, Universal History and Truth, are widely used in the Hegelian notion of the History. The unity of these terms sheds light on the route of the History which is viewed as to be pre-destined to reach a particular goal, the freedom. The freedom is only attainable if imperative stages are reached. The progress, in History, plays an indispensable role to accomplish the goal of the History. The paper ascertains the role of each notion in depth to display the overall structure of the Hegelian philosophy of the History.

INTRODUCTION

Hegel's philosophy of the History is criticized due to its lack of tangible data and speculative content, even though it does not address the concrete existences.[1] Firstly, Hegel has not written on the philosophy of the historiography. The major works of Hegel concerned with the questions related to metaphysical aspects of the History such as history of philosophy. Hegel represented the history of philosophy or thought in a historical way by examining the characteristics of each well-known culture such as Chinese, Indian, Persian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman and German respectively. Hegel's philosophy of the History is somewhat similar to the philosophy of historicality which investigates the main driving forces behind the major events in history.[2] Hegel, by following the traits of the History demonstrated that the aim of the History is the emancipation of the Spirit.[3]

Nature, in its incipient form, is the obstacle ahead of human beings to reach designed subjectivity. Nature, put the humans in the confinement of irrational environ. The Reason and Nature are in conflict on the way to the freedom. Nature must be defeated to achieve greater spiritual freedom. History is the medium of this conflict. Hegel defines the history as a rationally motivated phenomenon destined to set free itself for itself. History is the development of Spirit in time and nations can be ordered according to their present levels of the Freedom. However, Hegelian development concept takes the thought as an indicator of progress, not the time.[4]

Hegel's history of philosophy was the first treatment of the history of philosophy in a philosophical sense.[5] Hegel was ahead of his peers in terms of speculative penetration and sharpness of universal criticism.6 Furthermore, Hegel can be classified as the most influential philosopher after Plato and Aristotle in a context of prevalence in the philosophical world.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE HISTORY
THE SPIRIT

Hegel argues that there exist a universal History which governs the order of the events; even, they appeared to be uneven.[7] The governor is called the Spirit which has its own way to overcome or lead the Nature. The Reason, as the

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[1] David Kipp, *What is Philosphy of History*, Philosophical Quarterly 30 (October 1980), p. 271

[2] David Kipp, *ibid*, p. 275-277

[3] Özlem Doğan, *Tarih Felsefesi*, Say Yayınları, İstanbul:2010, p. 124

[4] David G. Ritchie, *Darwin and Hegel*, Macmillan & Co, New York:1893, p. 47

[5] Alfredo Ferrarin, *Hegel and Aristotle*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge:2004, p. 34

[6] K. Rosenkranz and G. S. Hall, *Rozekranz on Hegel's History of Philosophy*, The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January, 1874), p. 3-4

[7] G. Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosohy of History*, Batoche Books, Ontario:2001, p. 23

core of the history, is destined to set the Spirit free by gaining freedom through subjectivity. [8] Furthermore, Hegel puts the reason in the center of the universe whose general laws were to be illuminated. [9] Only, the humans that aware of their spiritual dispositions and managed to realize them can achieve spiritual freedom. [10]The reason is the mere reflection of the actuality and due to the omnipotent role of the thought, actualities cannot be transcended.[11] The Reason is the means and the end in itself.

Human beings are in a constant struggle with Nature, which at its incipient form contradicts the inner commandments of the Spirit. Nature, as an unconscious existence, must be overcome by human beings in order to achieve the Freedom. Humans are able to use activities, volition and interests to further enlarge their set of minds closer to freedom.[12] Throughout the history, the Spirit displayed some concrete forms of subjectivity. Heroes were the instances of this concrete forms by which the Spirit appeared at a particular time.[13] The way, history follows, is designed to be docile and rational, so heroes play the given role in this process. The man and the world are the indirect Works of the world spirit.[14] "Geist must be understood as combining the "infinitude" of speculative thought, the inner self-reflectiveness of the dynamic of subject and object, with the finitude of temporal movement in space and time, where reflexivity is conditioned by external contingency."[15]

The law is the objectivity of the Spirit. It must be obeyed to be free.[16] Hegel has been dubbed as the rationalizer of despotism due to his consideration of the role of the State in the realization of Spirit, however, at this point, it is important to discern that Hegel's State is just a mere manifestation of Spiritual existence.[17] The East has no similar forms of disposition, subjectivity, and conscience. The Law is omnipotent in the realm and leaves no room for the humanitarian values. Nature, in the East, is replaced by the Law. The Morality under the guise of the Law limited to options of human-beings that diluted their subjectivity.[18] China constricted the volition of the persons by regulating all spheres of life with the Law, which dictated the objective existence of respective citizens. The Law, in this case, reduces the subjectivity of people and confines their traits in a given scheme.[19]

The idea of Spirit is manifested in the formation of the State. It consists of Human Will and Freedom. The History appears in different forms of political principles as reflections of the Spirit.[20] Spirit can be set free if religion, art, and philosophy reached subjectivity.[21] Subjectivity, free of any objective fact, is a crucial element to define the World in the way as it is. The Spirit is timeless and indefinite. The objectivity and the subjectivity are manifested in the apparatus of the State. Terry Pinkard claims that the Spirit is a medium of inner interaction for people's freedom but in a metaphysical form.[22] Lucien Sfez argues that if freedom concepts of different entities overlaps, the State, the manifestation of Spirit, can reconcile parts to enlarge further the perception of Freedom.[23]

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[8] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 32

[9] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 24

[10] Bünyamin Bezci, *Hegel'in Felsefesinde Etik, Politik Olan ve Özgürlük*, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi Cilt:21 Sayı:2, Yıl:2006, p. 240

[11] Sally Sedgwick, *Reason and History: Kant versus Hegel*, Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association, Vol. 84, No. 2(November 2010), p. 52

[12] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 39

[13] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 45

[14] Robert Perkins, *History and System: Hegel's philosophy of history*, State University New York Press, New York:1984, p.69

[15] David Duquette, *The Unity and Difference of the Speculative and the Historical in Hegel's Concept of the Geist*, PhaenEx 2, no. 1 (spring/summer 2007), p. 88

[16] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 54

[17] Leon J. Goldstein, *The Meaning of State in Hegel's Philosophy of History*, The Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 46 (Jan., 1962), p. 60

[18] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 128-129

[19] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 131

[20] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 62

[21] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 65

[22] James Scott Johnston, *Rival readings of Hegel at the fin de siècle: the case of William Torrey Harris and John Dewey*, History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society, 42:4, (2003), p. 426

[23] Bünyamin Bezci, *ibid*, p. 244

Subjectivity is the most substantial element of a completely freed Spirit. Nature consists of two elements which vital for the fulfillment of a goal. These are the *moralitat* and the *sittlickeit*. *Moralitat* refers to subjective morality and *sittlichkeit* refers to objective morality. *Moralitat* is related to the inner motives of the human, and the *sittlichkeit* is generally shaped by the outer world, the State. *Sittlichkeit* to Perkins means ethical life which includes the objectivity of any given state.[24] These elements play a crucial role in the fulfillment of the History which meant the fulfillment of God.[25]

The Spirit, only, can be strengthened by reason which excludes *a priori* in history.[26] History cannot be regarded in a concept of certain values inconsistent with reality. In the Hegelian design of history, what has happened could not be otherwise.[27] The absolute knowledge is only accessible only if the human was aware of the Spirit of his contemporary age.[28] The actualization of Spirit occurs with submergence of individuality, recognizance of genuine knowledge, absorption of knowledge to the degree of abstract universality and inward transformation of all elements to inner Spirituality respectively.[29] The objectivity and the subjectivity will be reconciled to form a homogeneous notion of the Spirit.[30] Charles Taylor states that an extreme amount of energy is needed to set ordinary people free which, at first sight, is impossible to be achieved.[31] Given the ambiguous definition of self-achievement, the prerequisites for the accomplishment are in constant alteration which alienates the human beings from their respective identities. However, History is the proof and enactment of the Reason.[32]

The conflict between Nature and the Spirit has turned out to be diversely productive in the different parts of the world. This diversification is the result of the various geographical factors, to Hegel, which played a significant role in shaping the identity of the Spirit. For instance, there are thousands of religions flourished in India with the assistance of vast river systems which enabled the ordinary people to defeat the Nature and achieve a partial subjectivity. Furthermore, to Hegel, India is the Heaven for the Spirit and the roots of Europeans traces back to Sanskrit times.[33] Brahmans, Hindus, and Buddhists all have different concepts of religion whose core values shared with each other.[34] There is a myriad of factors that enabled things to be as they did. However, the ultimate goal directs the things to the way it is compelled to be. The prime mover or the ultimate goal designer behind the whole body can be named God that combines reason and the Spirit in itself. This abstract entity moves the History in line with certain rules of Universal History.[35] Every stage is crucial for the attainment of a pre-destined goal and plays a substantial role in the whole process so from an empirical perspective of the view, the comparison of different stages is logically inconsistent with the overall theory.[36] To Hegel, each stage is more advanced than previous ones regarding freedom and rationality.[37] The rise of empirical conscious to absolute knowledge is only possible necessary stages for its ascent are discovered within it.[38]

Hegelian subjectivity is constituted by *a posteriori* knowledge which transcends the objectivity that was the medium of contradiction between facts and ideas.[39] To Hegel, what is factual is rational and what is rational is factual, so the conflict between finite and infinite is in line with the totality of Hegelian system which promised the birth of the self-cognizant freedom via fusion of finite and infinite.[40] Hegelian notion of conflict in history is a tragic one which is

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[24] Robert Perkins, *ibid*, p. 104

[25] George S. Morris, *Hegel's Philosophy of State and of History*, S. C. Griggs and Company, Chicago:1887, p. 116

[26] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 24

[27] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 35

[28] Jean Hyppolite, ibid, p. 45

[29] G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge:1991, p. 377

[30] Aakash Singh and Rimina Mohapatra, ibid, p. 133

[31] Charles Taylor, *Hegel*, Cambridge, 1977, p. 349

[32] David Duquette, *ibid*, p. 94

[33] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 161

[34] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 176

[35] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 51

[36] W. H. Walsh, *Hegel on the History of Philosophy*, History and Theory, Vol. 5, Beiheft 5: The Historiography of the History ofPhilosophy (1965), p. 74

[37] Leon J. Goldstein, *ibid*, p. 63

[38] Jean Hyppolite, *ibid*, p. 39

[39] Emilia Digby, *Hegel's Monism and Christianity*, Hegeler Institute, The Monist, Vol. 7, No. 1 (October, 1896), p. 118

[40] Tony McKenna, *Hegelian Dialectics, Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*, 39:1(2001), p. 170

inevitably destined to be repeated throughout the time.[41] Louis Dumont claims that the self-cognizant human would be capable of protecting his upper-identity and to this human; the state is the symbol of his volition and freedom.[42] In Hegelian view, there can be no subject without object and vice-versa, proving the unity of diverse meanings in one phenomenon.[43]

Kojeve states that humans are intended to progress because their inner consciousness seeks to be known.[44] From a non-egalitarian perspective, this view explains the impartiality between different cultures over the development of the Spirit. On the other hand, this explanation is inadequate in a modern sense due to the reason that it segregates the people according to intangible data, though their dispositions are visible. Hegelian classification of the cultures states that "The East knew and to the present day knows only that one is free; the Greek and Roman world, that some are free; the German world knows that All are free." These definitions attribute to different forms of political regimes of Despotism, Democracy and Monarchy respectively.[45] The Law is omnipotent in the realm and leaves no room for the humanitarian values. Nature, in the East, is replaced by the Law. The Morality under the guise of the Law limited to options of human-beings that diluted their subjectivity.[46] Morality and religion complete each other, and a true religion improves the morality.[47]

THE UNIVERSAL HISTORY

Nature, in particular, geography, hot and cold, is a crucial factor in shaping the characteristics of a given society. Humans are not expected to waste time for things not related to Nature under extreme weather conditions. Therefore, the most appropriate climate for History is temperate zones.[48] The geography can be detrimental to progress as in the case of the African continent on which Nature posed the extreme conditions of Negroes and did not enable them to achieve the Freedom that would be the crucial step in the achievement of the Spirit.[49] Hegel's denial of the existence of space is the initial phase of its rational universe which based on thought.[50] The denial is a result of Hegel's belief in physical conditions as the principal stimulus for the progress. For instance, the sea communities are not confined to their hinterland to defeat the Nature. Their capabilities are beyond means of any society bound to live in a given territory. The sea people can navigate and transmit the knowledge into their communities. The case of antique Phoenicians presents a unique case in which both Spiritual and Natural assets are not formed within their communities but transported from foreign cultures.[51]

In the Hegelian concept of the History, time is in a teleological progress whose end would come with the accomplishment of the pre-destined goal. This eschatological design would be achieved with the attainment of the Absolute End of History embodied within the absolute freedom and complete knowledge.[52] Even though Hegel has defined the progress as an indispensable element of History, the main *Trieb*(drive) behind the search for progress remained to be an obscure notion.[53] John Dewey claims that *Trieb* is the alienation of self who set an object which is contrary to subjectivity.[54] The eschatological design would be accomplished with the fusion of objectivity and

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[41] Jean Hyppolite, *Genesis and Structure of Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, Nortwestern University Press, USA:1974, p. 31
[42] Bünyamin Bezci, *ibid*, p. 247
[43] John Anderson, *ibid*, p. 87
[44] Alexandre Kojeve, *Introduction to Reading Hegel: Lectures on the Phonemonolgy of Spirit*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca:1980, p. 7
[45] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 121
[46] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 128-129
[47] Steven B. Smith, *Hegel's Discovery of History*, The Review of Politics, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Apr., 1983), p. 166
[48] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 97
[49] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 113
[50] Scott Jenkins, *Hegel on Space: A Critique of Kant's Transcendental Philosophy*, Inquiry: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy, 2010, p. 327-328
[51] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 111
[52] Daniel Berthold Bond*, Hegel's Eschatological Vision: Does History have a Future?,* History and Theory, Vol. 27, No:1 (Feb. 1988), p. 14-15
[53] Thomas J. J. Altizer, *Hegel and the Christian God*, Oxford University Press, Journal of American Academy of Religion, Vol. 59, No. 1(Spring, 1991), p. 73
[54] James Scott Johnston, *ibid*, p. 436

subjectivity which are prerequisites for the blur of Hegelian duality. With the disillusionment of notions, the owl of Minerva would start to fly heralding the realization of the Truth.

The past consists of stages which were to be passed for the achievement of the end.[55] "If the clear Idea of the Reason is not already developed in our minds, in beginning the study of the Universal history, we should at least leave the firm, unconquerable faith that Reason exist right there, and that the World of intelligence and conscious volition is not abandoned to chance, but show itself in the light of the self-cognizant Idea."[56] Contrary to Hegelian vision of the History, John Anderson claims that there is regress in History as much as progress.[57] Apart from him, Alain Touraine argues that History not is linear and comprises elements of partition and unity which complete each other.[58] "Whereas speculative development occurs in the full inwardness and infinitude of pure thought such that the earlier/later distinction cannot apply, historical development takes place in the medium of time and externality, where individual actions and events are unique and non-repeatable."[59] In the Greece, the conflict between Athena and Sparta is a particular case which has to be examined in detail. The decline of Greek culture is one of best examples of regress in history. To Hegel, their conflict arose due to their respective family types that shape the overall disposition of the society.[60] This conflict diminished the spirituality in the society and at the end; culture has been exterminated by Nature.

With the attainment of the absolute End, the End of History would be introduced. The End meant the redemption of humans from the dire objectivity of the State.[61] Daniel Bond argues that Hegelian vision of History based on eschatological hypothesis is ambiguous.[62] Furthermore, Thomas Altizer argued that the Hegelian notion of the History is a theodicy of God posed on human-beings which only to be overcome by the cruxification of God, the Spirit, whose existence hamper the apocalypse. The Christianity used these themes suit the realization of God in the temporal world. [63] Moreover, Edward Carr argues that theodicy is a self-realizing concept and if claimed, it would reach a certain success in the end.[64] The End of the History is approval of God's existence through History.[65] Hegel is the standpoint where two contradictions are merged to end the perennial dualism of objective and subjective.[66] It is also noticed that each newly arisen fact alters the dynamics of proceeding ages so, the problems were never as precise as Hegel claimed them to be. [67]

THE TRUTH

The Truth is the ultimate result of the conflict between objectivity and subjectivity. Hegel stated that the Germans Spirit is the same of the Spirit of the new age. German Spirit aims to realize the absolute truth through reaching the Freedom. The Christian faith would be protected by the Germans whose Spirit has the greater similarity with the Truth.[68] The perception of liberty in the untouched minds of the ordinary people is not capable of encompassing the universal Truth. On the other hand, the Germans starting with the diffusion of the foreign elements in their newly-awakening mindset would be able to create something completely genuine.[69] The Protestant faith, at this point, has broken the extreme objectivity of the Church. The Emancipation from this objectivity and the emergence of subjectivity has made the German Spirit greater than other objectively-based cultures. The metaphysical philosophy

[55] Tony McKenna, *Hegelian Dialectics, Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*, 39:1(2001), p. 169

[56] Aakash Singh and Rimina Mohapatra, *Reading Hegel: The Introductions*, re. Press, Melbourne:2008, p. 117

[57] John Anderson, *The Place of Hegel in History of Philosophy*, Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy, 10:2,(1932), p. 84

[58] Bünyamin Bezci, *ibid*, p. 242

[59] David Duquette, *ibid*, p. 100

[60] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 281

[61] Daniel Berthold Bond, *ibid*, p. 17

[62] Daniel Berthold Bond, *ibid*, p. 22

[63] Thomas J. J. Altizer, *ibid*, p. 80-81

[64] Edward H. Carr, *What is History?,* Alfred A. Knopf Inc. New York:1972, p. 147

[65] Ömer Naci Soykan, *Hegel Sisteminde Tarih Felsefesi*, Betimleyici-Eleştirel Bir Giriş, p. 273

[66] William T. Harris, *Kant and Hegel in the History of Philosophy*, The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, Vol. 15, No. 3 (July, 1881), p. 249

[67] John Anderson, *ibid*, p. 88

[68] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 358

[69] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 359

of Hegel carries patriotic bias of German superiority which maintains Goethe's upper status and lapses Newton; even his ideas had an immense effect on his age.[70]

With the emergence of the subjectivity, the reason has become free of an objective set of rules and was to be viewed as the most significant element of political life.[71] The traditional forms of the political thought became obsolete, and if were to be used, their rationality is suspected.[72] The Truth changes in time. For instance, Roman culture set the abstract universality free of concrete individuality; however coerced individuals to behave against individuality.[73] On the other hand, Egyptian politics greatly regulated by the officials in compliance with the up and downs of the river Nile has maintained the regularity of the daily life and people were not able to set themselves free of the objective rule.[74] The State of Egypt viewed the dire objectivity as the Truth of their respective age.

The case Roman Empire is another instance of the infinitude of the Truth. The continuous wars and the civil unrest transformed the partially subjective Roman Spirit into a more objective one and therefore weakened the superficially built religious system.[75] The Roman Republic has made a swift transition to the Empire because early Roman emperors had modest personality unlike the asserted meanness of Oriental rulers.[76] After the clear victory of the Roman state, all the subjected races are categorized on an equal basis and led the way for the emergence of the private law.[77] The Truth embraced by the Republic did not satisfy the Empire.

Hegel claimed that the religion is somewhat important to keep the nation in unity, and social ties in the society can be strengthened with the religion.[78] The holder of absolute sovereignty in the Christian world is the nation state.[79] Each nation must be treated as one individual in evaluating the realization of the Universal History.[80] However, to Altizer, Hegel knew that the French Revolution has ended the age of the Christianity.[81] According to Kojeve, the end of the History is the end of the inner conflicts of the human-beings.[82] Indeed, when the Christian way of Spirit accomplishment is over, a new stage which was to be targeted would be released. On the other hand, the Christian era was to be over in accordance with the spiritual capabilities; its scope has the infinitude in the aspect of Truth.[83] The truth was the infinite part of the Hegel's dualist philosophy.[84] "Truth is the unity of the universal and subjective Will; and the Universal is to be found in the State, in its laws, its universal and rational arrangements."[85] The truth is not perceived as it is in itself but as a reflection of the medium which enables us to perceive it.[86] Hegel, the monistic philosopher, has merged the Christianity of the spiritualists with that of the philosophers.[87] Even though time is perpetually reconstructed and the dimensions shaped the object has changed, the infinitude of Truth never alters.[88] According to Hegelian notion, the ethical life is the true religion of the History.

The Christianity, in the case of Hegel, is the ultimate religion of the History which was designed to be the objective of the Spirit.[89] However, the outer borders of the Spirit are never clearly understood as in the case of sphinxes. The

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[70] David G. Rithcie, *ibid*, p. 54

[71] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 362

[72] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 363

[73] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 297

[74] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 226

[75] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 320

[76] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 333

[77] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 337

[78] Steven B. Smith, *Hegel's Discovery of History*, The Review of Politics, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Apr., 1983), p. 166

[79] G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge:1991, p. 366

[80] Aakash Singh and Rimina Mohapatra, ibid, p. 142

[81] Thomas J. J. Altizer, *ibid*, p. 89

[82] Alexandre Kojeve, *ibid*, p.159

[83] Daniel Berthold Bond, *ibid*, p. 26-27

[84] Tony McKenna, *Hegelian Dialectics*, Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory, 39:1(2001), p. 168

[85] Leon J. Goldstein, *ibid*, p. 61

[86] Scott Jenkins, *ibid*, p. 334

[87] Emilia Digby, *Hegel's Monism and Christianity*, Hegeler Institute, The Monist, Vol. 7, No. 1 (October, 1896), p. 116

[88] Alfredo Ferrarin, *ibid*, p. 37

[89] Walter Jaeschke, *ibid*, p. 133-136

Sphinx, half animal and half human, represents the struggle between the Spirit and Nature.[90] Furthermore, it is the symbol of a semi-religious entity which manifests the quest to free the Spirit.

A state is the embodiment of individual totality which consists of both objective and subjective elements of contemporary age which are a result of that respective culture[91] and therefore the history of philosophy is the concise account of the history of culture.[92] Thus according to John Keane, the State is viewed as the agent of the Spirit which represents God whose acts cannot be surrogated.[93] German fidelity met with the inner motives of the people and when the pious became subjective they were able to reflect the inner Spirit of themselves.[94] The subjectivity came with the reformation has enabled to ordinary people to attain inward harmony.[95] Moreover, to Hegel, only a subjective religion can unveil the true Spirit of human beings.[96]

To Hegel, "Secular life is the positive and embodiment of the Spiritual Kingdom- the Kingdom of the Will manifesting itself in outward existence."[97] "Neither the individual nor the church but rather the community possesses the infinite power and authority needed for its development for the progressive determination of its doctrine.[98]Virtue with the assistance of subjective Will is crucial to design the dispositions of the people.[99] Eventually, it can be concluded that the pre-destined History of the world aims to attain the Freedom. The owl of Minerva flies at dusk.[100] The Spirit consists of insight and inwardness of the human mind. If the human mind got rid of objectivity and reached subjectivity, it could understand the Spirit, the supreme mover which is God.[101] The question is that whether the accomplishment of the Truth means the End of the History or not. If the Truth is infinite and timeless, the End of the History is a constant alteration in itself. The Truth is can be attained only if human liberated himself from the objectivity of civil society.[102] The Truth reached in the Christian world represents the full maturity of the Spirit.[103]

CONCLUSION

Hegel claimed that the end of the History would come to the realization of objective and subjective harmony in human conscious, and the Truth would appear. However, given the timelessness of Truth, the notion attributing the German Spirit as the final goal and ultimate design ignores the reality that German Spirit was just an outcome of its contemporary age. From a broader perspective, Hegel evaluates the history from a Eurocentric point of view and puts the Europe in the center due to the reason that he was familiar with the European culture, in particular, German culture. The definition of German culture as the closest one to modern Spirit lacks empiric analysis and remains beyond modern analysis technics.

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[90] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 218

[91] Leon J. Goldstein, *ibid*, p. 64

[92] Leon J. Goldstein, *ibid*, p. 71

[93] Bünyamin Bezci, *ibid*, p. 245

[94] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 370

[95] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 447

[96] Steven B. Smith, *ibid*, p. 168

[97] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 462

[98] Walter Jaeschke*, Christianity and Secularity in Hegel's Concept of the State*, The University of Chicago Press, The Journal of Religion, Vol. 61, No. 2 (Apr., 1981), p. 130

[99] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 470

[100] Jean Hyppolite, *ibid*, p. 43

[101] G. Friedrich Hegel, *ibid*, p. 477

[102] Steven B. Smith, *ibid*, p. 180

[103] George S. Morris, *ibid*, p. 136

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ENGLISH DIPLOMACY IN PRE-PROTECTORATE TUNIS

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ABSTRACT
The English (and British after 1707) have had uninterrupted diplomatic relations with Tunis from the mid-16th century on until 1885. England enjoyed largely favorable commercial and military treaties with Tunis, the Ottoman regency then. The English even prided themselves for the highly respected status they used to have at the Tunisian court. This position, however, did not properly reflect the nature of diplomatic intercourse England used to have with Tunis. This paper is a critical examination and evaluation of English diplomacy in Tunis and its multifaceted context during a neglected period, the pre-French Protectorate period.

ENGLAND AND THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

From the late seventeenth century on, England experienced the growth of its maritime and transoceanic power. Yet, her diplomacy remained centered on Europe. (Black, 2001) France was her major rival with the largest army in Europe and a powerful naval fleet, but above all a catholic nation. In England, anti-French antipathy was most often expressed in anti-Catholicism. The other rival was the Netherlands, a protestant power like England for sure, but a main threat to English trading interests. In the course of the seventeenth century, England fought the Dutch three times. Spain was a further political competitor in Europe, and once a fierce catholic power, but under the rule of its late Habsburg monarch Charles II, had greatly declined. Domestically, England was not without its own problems particularly after a chaotic early seventeenth century, which witnessed a civil war, problems with the Scots, the Irish and the Welsh, the 'domestic foreigners'. England was also still threatened by Catholicism and a political system plagued with patronage, favoritism and political rivalries between the Whigs and Tories, conundrums which would persist into the nineteenth century.

There is a polemic over the place of the Mediterranean for Europeans and the English specifically in the early modern period. According to one view, the Mediterranean ceased to be crucial to Europeans and the English because of the growing importance of the New World, which eventually led to the relative and gradual marginalization of the region. The counter view, however, considers that the early modern writings have been refashioned and read in such a way as to be fitted into the subsequent periods of English colonial and imperial domination. "*Islam* ", (in this case the Moslem Ottoman regencies of North Africa) Nabil Matar argues,

"dominated" and "taken possession of" might be applicable in the post-Napoleonic history of the Middle East (and North Africa as well); to apply it retrospectively to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is historically inaccurate. (1998, p.13)

A significant part of the narrative about Moslem-North African-Mediterranean encounters and relations with England and Europe more generally during the early modern period and later was not fully and properly told. Historians in this early modern period, for example, ignored the Articles of Peace negotiated between England and the North African states then though they were published and accessible to all, a clear evidence of these relations. Similarly, most historians today, are critically silent about those Englishmen who chose to stay in North Africa for the material benefits and the freedom they were offered. With very few exceptions (Fisher, 1957; Earle, 1970), historians and other scholars have also dominantly constructed 'Barbary pirates' as North African and Moslem. Piracy, it should be stressed, was not solely a Moslem and North African activity. Historians overlooked Europe's involvement in piratical activities, state funding of pirates, and the captivity of Moslems. During this period, the so-called 'Barbary states' belonged to the same category of naval powers as England and France. Their ships went as far as the English Channel and the Spanish coasts and captured thousands of Christian subjects, men and women, individuals and families, rich and poor, men belonging to all walks of life like sailors, fishermen, merchants, clergymen, army officers, parliamentarians, and trade companies' members. The European states had to pay heavy ransoms for these captives and this cost local communities a great deal. In England, the burden of Poor relief, which became the responsibility of these communities in the late sixteenth century, increased to such an extent that they resorted to the state to

help them pay ransoms for their captives and support the growing number of poor families left behind. (Matar, 1998, 10)   Many of these captives converted to Islam, a religion which was destabilizing England not only commercially but also socially. It was equally an alluring religion. Even Bernard Lewis admitted the "powerful attraction" to Islam. (Matar, 1998, 14) This early modern period was certainly one of Moslem not European hegemony.

This Mediterranean was then surely important to English interests not solely because of the above-mentioned factors but also because of the conflicts with European competitors, namely the French, the Dutch and the Spanish in the lands of Ottoman hegemony and the scale of her trade there. For long, historians focused on piracy (Lane-Poole, 1890; Fisher, 1957; Earle, 1970; Panzac, 1999) and more recently on white slavery (Colley, 2002) and its effects on Europe more than on politics and diplomacy in relation to English encounters with Mediterranean countries, especially North Africa. This is partly due to a concern with European history but also because of the lack of information about the region, in addition to the scarcity of local sources if not their mistrust. (Pennell, 1989; Colley, 2003)   There is a general consensus, nevertheless, that the so-called Barbary States of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, largely lumped together as one, were important naval powers capable of threatening the whole commercial life of the Western Mediterranean. For England, these were also for sure uncertain times and the "North Africans," Pennell wrote, *"were the more durable threat."* (Pennell, 1989, p.21)

ENGLAND AND TUNIS
England's contacts with non–European powers were generally less frequent. Its relations with North Africa varied from one country to another. Of these, Tunis had apparently had the closest contacts with Europe including England. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, Tunis signed several treaties with most European countries. The Ottoman central power over Tunis, which started to erode in the sixteenth century, allowed the regency more freedom in the conduct of its foreign affairs even though its semi-independent status was only confirmed by the Ottoman ruler in the 1871 *firman* with which the *Beylical* dynasty in Tunis obtained hereditary status. There was specific mention of Tunisia's relations with other states and its capacity to have agreements except in political, military and territorial matters. (Newman, 2002, p.28) Yet, when it comes to accepting the Tunisian official diplomatic representation, the European states wavered between having a significant trading partner and embarrassing the Ottoman Empire. Tunis was and remained a consulate with duties centered on trade. Its relations with England were fine. (Parker, 2004; Palotas, 2014, p.27; Maggill, 1811, Graham, 1887) There were negotiations between the British monarchy and the rulers of Tunis about the release of captives, the issue of white slavery and trading prospects.

These relations were not, however, without some ambivalence. A capitulation signed in 1580 stated that Tunisians had to ensure the inviolability of English ships and the freedom of English slaves. This capitulation was most often not respected by Tunisian corsairs and the English had to remind the Tunisian court of the clauses of the capitulation. English fleets started then to be sent to the Mediterranean, a sort of military show, which facilitated the conclusion of contracts with Tunis and the North African regencies more generally. In 1655, to cite but one example, Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, sent thirty ships against Tunis and forced it to submit (Parker, 2004, p.103). 1662 saw the conclusion of the first treaty with Tunis without the involvement of the Porte (Palotas, 2014, p.27). A further Article of Peace and Commerce this time was signed.

England also negotiated treaties with Algiers, Tripoli and Morocco during the same period. Most often, however, it was the English who benefited most from these exchanges. The other states were required to make more concessions than the English. For example, according to these treaties, *"in disputes between Englishmen, the differences were to be subject to the decisions made by the consul."* Also,

"That in case any of his said Majesties subjects should happen to strike a Turk or a Moore, if he is taken, let him be punished; but if he escapes, nothing shall be said to the English consul or any other of his Majesties subjects on that account." (Parker, 2004, p.103)

These were clear signs that from the late seventeenth century onwards diplomatic practices gave way to the use of force and coercion. An English fleet arrived in 1686 in Algiers and Tunis to press for the renewal of the previously concluded agreements with the arrival of James II to the throne.

By the eighteenth century, the naval power of Tunis and the North African regencies started to weaken. A combination of factors led to their starting decline: unstable governments and civil war, the inability to keep up with the techniques of navigation and warfare in Europe, the decline of the Ottoman Empire, and most importantly, the growing naval powers of France and England (Anderson, 1956, p.87). The privateering activities were now confined to the sea and never reached the levels of earlier periods. Tunis, which, in the seventeenth century was a considerable naval power and still the main focus of European trade with North Africa possessed but three warships in 1702, all in

poor conditions, and lacking the naval stores necessary to equip them. (Anderson, 1956, p.107) She could produce a small part of her needs in cannon after the establishment of a foundry built by the French, but Tunis had to rely on the import of most of her powder and naval stores. The growth of legal trade with Europe, France in particular, accelerated the decline of Tunis as a privateering center. This does not suggest that Tunis and the North African regencies ceased to pose any threat to the European powers and especially England. If England together with France were now nearly out of reach, the lesser European powers, with less effective means to defend their commercial interests, like Denmark, Sweden, Hamburg, and the Italian States, were still at the mercy of the North Africans. In addition, the latter could still hamper the interests of any of the European states, including England and France, by having closer commercial relations with one of them and negotiating extra privileges, thus further influence.

Tunis was also a food-exporting country. There was even mention of the export of food to Minorca, one of the Mediterranean ports which England acquired under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Tunis still had indeed some cards to play in its relations with European powers like England.

ENGLISH DIPLOMATS IN TUNIS

During the same period, the English fleet played a core role in diplomatic negotiations, most of which were carried out at sea by naval officers such as Sir Edward Spragge, Sir John Narborough in the seventeenth century and Admiral Blake in the eighteenth (Anderson, 1956, p.88). They were also handled by the agents of British commercial companies rather than by diplomats. This, of course, reflected a lack of certainty about the most convenient way to deal with the North African states. English diplomacy suffered from limited organization. In the eighteenth century, England maintained permanent embassies only in few capitals. This problem pertained to the costs of maintaining a post, the difficulty of finding suitable candidates, and the absence of matters requiring negotiations. These issues were not always properly addressed. England appointed wealthy men and high-ranking diplomats to key diplomatic posts from the aristocracy, a reflection of English politics more generally, but it struggled with others, particularly after the Union of 1707 with Scotland and the necessity for the government to make sure that it alone represented the British Isles.

Diplomatic correspondence is full of complaints about expenses and inadequate pay, when it was available. The first consuls in North Africa did not get any pay and had to support themselves. The consul of Tunis seems to have been paid a regular salary from 1754 on only (Anderson, 1956, p.106) that is after more than one century of relations. English consuls in Tunis could not always handle rapidly and with resolution the disputes with these states. Most of them during this early period were not career diplomats and most often were merchants not necessarily without knowledge of the region. They were in addition loosely controlled from London (Anderson, 1956, p.106). Distance and poor communication did play part in complicating smoother interaction between England and Tunis. Many of these consuls were members of trading firms or with connections with them. Thomas Goodwyn, who was assistant consul to Francis Baker, English consul in Tunis between 1674 and 1675, and eventually consul there between 1675 and 1683, had relations with Humphrey Sydney, the owner of two merchant vessels and one of the most prominent members of the merchant community in Livorno. (Pennell, 1989, p.54) John Parker, a member of the Council of Trade in London and the financial representative of Francis Baker, petitioned the king in 1681 to be appointed consul in Algiers because of his long trading activities in the region (Pennell, 1989, 54). John Erlisman, Francis Baker's predecessor as consul in Tunis (1662-1674) and later the controller of Tangier and consul in Algiers was a relative of Francis Baker and his brother Thomas Baker, English consul in Tripoli between 1677 and 1685. When Francis was trying to persuade the government to grant him a salary as consul in Tunis, a petition signed by "Diverse merchants trading into the Mediterranean, and for the Coast of Barbary" recommended his suit to the king. His petition was signed by a former Lord Mayor of London, two future Lord mayors, three aldermen, both knights and two other knights, one of them a future director of the Bank of England. These acquaintances with the London elite should not surprise. The Corporation of the City was dominated by merchants, many of whom were involved in trade with the eastern Mediterranean and were members of the Levant Company. (Pennell, 1989, p.55) On taking over as consul in Tunis in 1673, Francis Baker wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson, English high government official (1633-1701):

"I was established Consul to the content of the whole city and being well known, and practiced in this country and having the favor, and Respect of all the great men I do not doubt but to maintain that good understanding, as hath for several years been between his Majesty and this Government". (Pennell, 1989, p.55)

Their familiarity with the area and their stay there for years obviously meant that they knew Tunis and North Africa better than the passing traveler. In late 1675 both Thomas Baker and his relative John Erlisman were living with Francis in his house in Tunis, where he remained consul there until 1683.

ENGLAND GAVE UP ITS INTERESTS IN TUNIS

If the relations with the trading community of London or elsewhere, as a matter of fact, were significant, those with the court and official circles of government were not. Francis Baker remembered in a letter written in 1698 the cold reception he had in London when he came to meet King William III on his arrival. Francis decided to set off travelling again. (Pennell, 1989, p.56)

There is little doubt that English consuls in Tunis were most often in a defensive position. They were largely on their own, with little resources and far from the fleet which was hard to summon in case of the emergence of crises. They often complained about the absence of content of their instructions. All these were true structural factors or defects affecting English diplomacy and reflecting a certain weakness. More generally, it seems as if England could not control the extent of its diplomatic commitment outside Europe, in this case in Tunis, and retained much of its early ambivalent and complex character. Perkins Magra, English Consul in Tunis (1790-1804) had this to say about the treaties, which governed the English-Tunisian relations and which, apart from the issue of corsairing, were vague, *"As to our miserable treaties, they are so very improvident, ill-explained, and badly translated, that they are only calculated to mislead a consul…"* (Mosslang, 2008, p.351)

Following the Greek crisis of the 1820s, the occupation of Algiers by the French in 1830, and the re-establishment of direct Ottoman authority over Tripoli in 1835, England became more involved in this part of the Mediterranean, which was to gradually grow into a zone of potential conflict. England was primarily concerned with its commercial activities in the region and consequently disapproved of France's conquest of Algiers and its pretensions to control the rest of North Africa, but equally feared upsetting peace by precipitating a war likely to disturb its interests in the region. These preoccupations, made England insist on the old policy of considering Tunis and Morocco as integral parts of the Ottoman Empire and sticking to a status quo. England was particularly tough in its attempts to preserve and defend its treaty rights which went back to the early modern period, and which made it one of the most privileged European states in the regency of Tunis, (Manai, 2006) while the French increasingly insisted on the autonomy of the regency since their occupation of Algiers. The English officially warned the French in 1836, 1843 and later in 1864 that they would not concede to the conquest of Tunis. (Marsden, 1971, p.27)

English diplomacy during this period owed much to some of its consuls, a different breed made up mostly of retired army officers rather than merchants. These remained longer in their posts and developed a better knowledge of local life and local elites. Sir Thomas Reade (1824-1849) was the first non-trading agent and Consul-General. In the seaside resort of the Marsa, a residential area in the Northern suburbs of Tunis, Thomas Reade was well embedded in the local society where he lived. According to Clancy-Smith (2012, p.288*), "a seaside culture of sociability that combined politics and leisure, harem visits and diplomacy, business and water therapy,"* built up. Sir Thomas Reade's children and family often visited the summer palace of *Sidi* Mohamed, the heir apparent. (Clancy-Smith, 2012, p. 300) Tunisian rulers and princes either gave loans of summer palaces to select clients like foreign consuls or invited them. These favors created ties of indebtedness to the local elites and allowed consuls to function and even to influence political developments locally, when this was possible. The English consuls were part of this privileged circle.

Similarly, Richard Wood, the English agent and consul-general in Tunis between 1855 and 1879 had the diplomatic background and experience which allowed him to play an active role during this period. He also interlocked closely with the local elite. His appointment in Tunis coincided with social and economic changes having to do with the growing number of Maltese and Greeks, who were British subjects, better defined consular duties and a closer supervision on the part of the foreign office in London. Consuls were primarily required to collect data and oversee trade. They had also other functions such as preventing the slave trade, acting against smugglers and spying. Consuls in Tunis were not expected to perform political duties. Yet, they did it and used the little margin of autonomy they had to do so. Wood, for example, designed a whole plan of economic penetration in Tunis and tried hard to convince the foreign office to implement it lest French and Italian influences in the regency increased. He managed to secure a convention in the summer of 1875, which proved to be eventually costly. The convention gave the consul and his staff guarantees such as more freedom for trade, the rights to import with taxes not exceeding eight per cent ad valorem; the freedom to develop coastal trade, the right to establish commercial, industrial and banking companies and to practice any art, profession or industry. (Marsden, 1971, p.45)

Wood's diplomatic efforts to consolidate the English position in Tunis and thwart French and Italian growing pretensions there were not, however, received with enthusiasm in London. The English government's position to the regency remained the main obstacle to such consolidation and left Wood with little room for further effective maneuvering in promoting diplomatic relations with Tunis. Palmerston, the foreign secretary, was reluctant to confer any order to the *Bey*. Wood's plan of English economic penetration in Tunis failed because Wood could not obtain

the official backing of his government. The discrepancy between the English consul plans and that of his government left Wood alone and vulnerable, a feeling many English consuls in Tunis expressed in such circumstances. This reflected the inconsistency of English diplomacy in Tunis. Eventually, England acquiesced to France, which occupied Tunis in 1881.

Apart from consuls, English travelers in Tunis, who came in numbers during the nineteenth century, and especially after 1830, were aware of England's position in the regency and reflected on their country's diplomacy. Most travelers, however, deplored what they considered lost opportunities in Tunis and many supported consuls Thomas Reade, Edward Baines and Richard Wood in their attempts to defend English interests in Tunis. Herbert Vivian wrote *in Tunisia and the Modern Barbary Pirates*, for the purpose of *"exposing Lord Salisbury's deplorable sacrifice of British prestige and commerce."* (1899, p.8) Lord Granville, foreign secretary between 1870-1874 and 1880-1885, was also fiercely criticized for inconsistency. (Sladen, 1906, p.351) For others, like Weymyss Reid, England's political influence in Tunis was gone and the English no longer counted (1882, p.308.) Anti-French sentiment blended with old anti-Catholicism revived and was echoed by travelers since the early nineteenth century and certainly after 1830 and the conquest of Algiers." *Every day,* Maggill, complained*, "our interests are bought and sold by Roman Catholics."* (1811, p.109)

This is not to argue that English consuls' policies in Tunis were most often right and their behavior often decent. They were involved in intrigues, and collaborated with corrupt members of the elite. Richard Wood's plan of economic penetration was partly due to his close association with Mustapha Khazandar, the infamous Tunisian prime minister then. Consuls also quarreled with consuls of other foreign nations, sided with criminals and sometimes involved their countries into major diplomatic crises growing out of minor incidents. Even their relationships with the Maltese, the British subjects they were required to protect, were often tense if not hostile.

That feeling towards the Maltese paralleled the dim views held by many of the consuls of Tunis and North Africa more generally. (Manai, 2007) The English did not perceive themselves solely as better, but also as fitter for expansion and civilization. This is in part why England had a modest diplomatic relation with Tunis, why the mission of its consuls was uneasy, and why its commercial relations remained limited. Its diplomacy was a patchwork: just working, coercive, neutral, indifferent, and ultimately failing. It was uniform in its inconsistency. In the end, England came to see its Tunisian outfit as another, less important, avenue for relations with France.

CONCLUSION

Not that much changed in English diplomacy in Tunis from the early modern period until the conquest of France in 1881. The same assumptions dictated its diplomatic relations with the kingdom of Tunis. Tunis was solidly categorized as "Barbary", and could not, therefore, differ from its North African neighbors. To the English, it looked like a state, but could not be dealt with as one. England had consul-generals, consuls, vice-consuls and a team of commercial agents in Tunis during this period. Tunis had none because England refused to have any representative of the Tunisian rulers, contrary to France and most other European powers. Yet, England signed dozens of treaties with the Tunisian rulers. Its diplomatic relations with Tunis were almost informal and relied much on its consuls' personal relationships, maneuvering, manipulations, and force when need was. This produced ad hoc policies made on the spot and mostly based on the relative assessments of the consuls. English diplomacy became global and reflected a European version of universalism, perceived as global. Tunis, like any other country, outside Europe, could not boast diplomacy. Diplomacy was meant for the powerful and Tunis was not. This diplomatic perspective led to cultural and ideological divides, which made English diplomacy in Tunis frail and made it difficult for the English to handle.

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A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SECRET HISTORY, ENGLAND, 1660-1740

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ABSTRACT

"Secret histories," a large number of often polemical pamphlet publications given that title during the tumultuous book trade of early eighteenth-century England, have always used disreputable methods, according to those who comment on methods. Secret histories—works claiming to reveal scandalous or hidden information—had not been treated as subjects of serious academic study in the fields of either history or literature until the 1990s. This paper argues their relevance to historiography by comparing early eighteenth-century secret histories to the function of metahistory in Robert Berkhofer's controversial manifesto of postmodern historiography, *Beyond the Great Story*. The contributions of secret histories to the imagining of history during the early eighteenth century, an era that saw the publication and institutionalization of great national histories in multiple folio volumes, can consequently be understood. At the same time, secret history indicates postmodern historiography's relation to early modern humanist history.

INTRODUCTION

There is no more meaningful venue for presenting a paper on the topic of "secret history" than Istanbul, since the genre's originating author, Procopius, purportedly compiled his *Anekdota* ("unpublished" extracts) in Byzantium to create a record of scandalous episodes in the history of Justinian and his famous general Belisarius that he could not include in his magisterial *History of the Wars of the Emperor Justinian in Eight Books* (sixth century C.E.; seventeenth-century English translation).

Procopius gained attention in France when Louis XIV commissioned the publication of a series of imperial histories that included his grand narrative, retitled *Histoire de Constantinople* (1685). *Anekdota* came to be treated as an exemplar of *histoire secrète* after its 1667 translation in France as English booksellers then turned the 1674 English translation of Procopius's *Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian* into a political allegory critiquing the court of Charles II. Secret histories burgeoned in the English book trade after 1688 to justify the regime-change from James II to William and Mary, becoming something of a marketing sensation on both the English and French sides of the Channel.

Now, as then, publications given the title of "Secret History" invite readers to anticipate the revelation of information that has been deliberately concealed in order to serve someone's interests. The current expressions "backstory" or "untold story" similarly promise to explain actions and motives that have given rise from behind-the-scenes to events knowable by the public, whether through published histories and accounts or through rumor. Such a genre naturally provokes fierce disputes, since the claim to challenge the authority of established accounts may be viewed either as illegitimate or as a sign of courageous truth telling. In any case, secret histories get little credit as historical sources. The present paper argues, however, their historiographical relevance. This project demonstrates that the contribution of secret histories to early modern historiography can be clarified by consideration of the controversial postmodern historiography Robert Berkhofer offers in *Beyond the Great Story* (1995). Berkhofer's call for the discipline of history to adopt postmodern methods and suggestion that all elements of historical practice are subject to critique by metahistory creates analogies to the position of secret history in early eighteenth-century historical practice.

In the study of English historiography, the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can be considered significant, since the aftermath of religious civil war and a media revolution that identified the "public" with print culture created conditions under which writers of history could scarcely avoid awareness of their methods, tested as they were by partisan dispute. Grand narratives called *The History of England* took institutional form under the pressures of both factional political ideology and genre classification at a time when the nation's history of civil war made the authority of representation highly contested. (Levine, 1991; Hicks, 1996; Stone, 1996)

Because early eighteenth-century secret histories function in the ways Berkhofer attributes to metahistory, they demonstrate that normal historical practice already has a rich history that includes the practices and postmodern awareness championed by Berkhofer. Furthermore, the concept of metahistory guides us to recognize secret history's contributions to historiography in all of its senses: as the writing of history, philosophy of history, and critique of or history of history.

BAD SECRET HISTORY, GOOD METAHISTORY
Publications carrying the title "secret history" had acquired by the early eighteenth century a notoriety not only for scandal and libel but for violating specific principles of that era's neoclassical, humanist historiography. Lawrence Echard fumed in the preface to his *History of England*'s third volume (1718) that the "Spawn" of libel and scandal came from, among others, "Writers of Secret Histories, who have taken such Liberties with their Betters, as are hardly to be found in any other Part of the World." In the popular satire *Gulliver's Travels*, Jonathan Swift's character Gulliver travels to a land of sorcerers whose occult powers make literally possible Cicero's view of history as a "dialogue with the dead." Interviewing the ghosts of famous historical figures enables Gulliver to settle with absurd conclusiveness many burning questions about the past—and proves secret history accounts always wrong:

"Here I discovered the Roguery and Ignorance of those who pretend to write *Anecdotes*, or secret History; who send so many Kings to their Graves with a Cup of Poison; will repeat the Discourse between a Prince and chief Minister, where no witness was by; unlock the Thoughts and Cabinets of Embassadors and Secretaries of State; and have the perpetual Misfortune to be mistaken." (Third Voyage, Chapter VIII, 1729)

Secret histories as a genre earn a bad character on account of their violation of the empirical and philological principles belonging to humanist history, to say nothing of the historian's ideal of impartial truth-telling. Their disrespect for crowned heads is merely an extension of their rogue character and reflects the political interests driving their motives and their discreditable methods: unverifiable, fictionalizing claims that include invented conversations and sheer sensationalism and ignorance.

The ill repute of secret history as unreliable history continues to the present day. Where the early eighteenth century pointed out secret historians' failure to carry out humanist historical principles, however, the odd example of Leon Surette's *The Birth of Modernism* chastises secret history for using methods that resemble old-fashioned humanist history:

"Unlike philosophy of history and metahistory, secret history is a distortion, or perhaps a disease, of empirical history in that it assumes that the free, or at least undetermined, decisions of individuals—particularly great leaders such as Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon—are important causal factors in history. In accounts of secret history, events are determined by small groups or coteries of extraordinary individuals that from time to time achieve positions of power and influence. These conspiracies may be either malign … or benign…" (Surette, 1993, p. 51)

While Surette's account connects secret histories to conspiracy theorizing, his formulation notably turns his criticism of secret histories around into an attack on the humanist history that secret history's early eighteenth-century opponents thought they were defending. Surette accuses secret history of sharing humanist history's distorting assumptions: that the decisions of great men influence events and, more specifically, that the interactions of individuals in groups such as cabinet councils or factions take on pivotal historical agency.

Surette's favorable impression of metahistory prompts a look at the important historiographical role given to metahistory by Robert Berkhofer's *Beyond the Great Story*, an ambitious work that attracted particular ire from critics of postmodern philosophy of history. Thomas Haskell viewed Berkhofer as frustrated by history's untidy merging of art and science and as himself ridden with assumptions about historical representations' alignment with larger categories such as political orders (1998, pp. 351-52). In his review essay "History, the Referent, and Narrative," Perez Zagorin lamented that postmodern historiographers such as Berkhofer dispute any effort to know the past through some grounding in evidence and allege that histories only reinforce the status quo (1999, p. 11). He also emphasized that Berkhofer treats readers of history as naïve and underestimates their critical acumen (p. 12).

What I will be pointing out is that neither Robert Berkhofer's analysis of what he calls "normal historical practice" nor his account of metahistory would present much mystery to early eighteenth-century writers whose histories reflected humanist philological awareness (Novick, 1988). Berkhofer equates "metahistorical" with "rhetorical

approach[es] to history" in contrast to "normal" practice (p. 70). Early modern humanist history emerged in close affiliation with rhetoric and philology (Kelley, 1991). Berkhofer's manifesto replicates the role secret histories played as they articulated contemporary skepticism in such a way as to expand the horizons of expectation regarding the nature of history both as past and as narrative representation.

Berkhofer presents the following two diagrams in order to clarify how the concept of metahistory, adapted from Hayden White (1973), serves in critique of established historical practice. In the first, Berkhofer describes "normal historical practice." The diagram appears relatively non-controversial except in his peculiar insertion of the idea of a Great Story or Great Past into the scheme. The dotted line describes what historians would presumably readily agree is their interpretive work of "unifying" materials into narratives. Berkhofer views historians generally as constructing "partial" accounts but as seeing their work as participating in a Great Story that maps onto a vast Great Past, history as a totality. It is a view that merges the efforts of historians to represent their subjects of choice into this Great Story and also downplays the significance of "partial stories of partial pasts," a term that could potentially describe all histories not pretending to achieve Universal History. Berkhofer does mean "partial" in all its senses: including political bias, interpretation, selectivity, and incompleteness, which may induce fictionalizing to fill in gaps (p. 148). It is also worth noting that the idea of secret history emphasizes the partial nature of the stories it contains, since it targets the revelation of particular information that has been hidden. Secret histories may well contend for the honor of representing facts, using evidence drawn from sources, and not only offer written history but frequently commentary on the narrative construction of histories. In effect, secret histories are scorned for too closely resembling or even mirroring historical method, impelling the need to assert their untrustworthy distinctiveness from history.
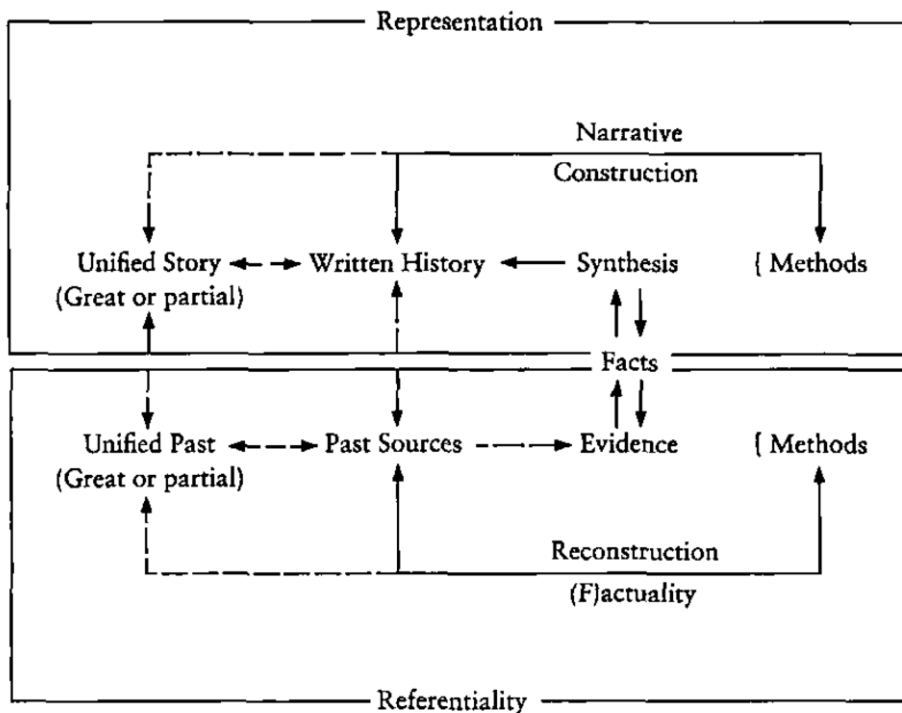

Figure 3.1

Figure 1. Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story*, p. 61

Berkhofer argues that the discipline of history relies upon a convention, a challengeable belief, that the upper domain of representation can be distinguished from the lower one of referentiality. While historians know that facts are made through human interpretation, the referential function connects historical representations to an actuality that lies beyond the arbitrariness of language even if human knowledge of it is shaped by language. The postmodern insight, in Berkhofer's argument, is that the processes of referentiality are already mapped by the domains of

representation: "Metahistory equates metastory with metapast; that is, it collapses the presuppositional framework underlying representation with the one underlying referentiality, because the latter is considered primarily a postulation of the former…" (1995, p. 65). All elements of historical practice are mediated by interpretation, all the way down.

Berkhofer diagrams that insight by treating all elements of historical practice as subject to critique by metahistorical awareness. That is, any synthesis of facts into narrative—or indeed any framings of facts—rely upon assumptions, linguistic constructs, ideology, and so on, such that we can think of historical practice in the following highly self-conscious way:
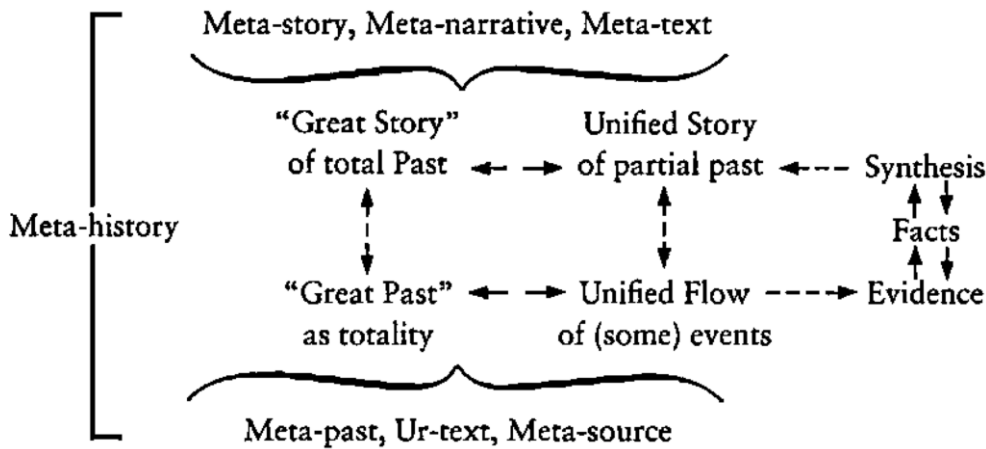

Figure 3.2

Figure 2. Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story*, p. 65

The brackets in Figure 2 misleadingly appear to pinpoint meta-awareness between "unified partial" and "great" story or past, whereas Berkhofer explains that every move in this process of historical construction can be considered through meta-awareness, thus justifying calling this overview of the entire scheme "metahistory." Such terms as meta-text or meta-source remind readers of the mediated nature of our knowing on every level from the identification and synthesis of facts through the construction of whole narratives.

The most remarkable aspect of Berkhofer's analysis, in the context of a study of secret history, is not that it shakes the foundations of historical practice but that it appears not to heed similar meta-historical sophistication that has been available for hundreds of years. The argument I will develop in the remainder of this essay is that a number of early eighteenth-century secret histories often very surgically anatomize precisely the activity of constructing "unified stories of partial pasts" and that they do so in ways that function as meta-text, meta-past, or meta-history analogously to the kind of skeptical awareness Berkhofer hopes to promote.

First, however, it must be said that Berkhofer overstates the degree to which the notion of the "Great Story" about the "Great Past" accurately represents the assumptions of historiographers. He does earn sympathy for his irritation through his short collection of examples of high-flown rhetoric in national histories (1995, pp. 40-43). It is also true that Perez Zagorin expresses a wish for greater integration of histories and more comprehensive representations (1999, p. 11), but that wish stops short of projecting a "totality." Berkhofer is, however, oddly acrobatic in caricaturing historians' projections as aspiring to a "Great" past—an expression with a hint of mockery—in the same paragraph in which he won't allow them to claim to limit the scope of their interpretation to a specific context (1995, p. 43). Where Hayden White's *Metahistory* (1973) observes the influence of large literary and rhetorical patterns guiding the structures of major historical narratives, Berkhofer overleaps such specific points to identify the Great Story as "the legitimizing authority of the discipline, which rested upon the search for the one and only Story as the single True account of the partial and Great Pasts" (1995, p. 73). The "singularity" (p. 40) of this ideal appears doubtful, however. Demonstrably, even the strenuous efforts in the early eighteenth century to create a "complete" national history for England would have viewed such a Great Story project with incredulity, and humanist awareness of point of view demanded an attitude of skepticism toward that project. Lawrence Echard candidly referred to his *History of England* as an "abridgement" that merely synthesized existing major works for ease of reading (Preface). Echard,

White Kennett, and other early eighteenth-century writers of national history invoked neoclassical principles of composition that treated historical writing as rhetorical processes of invention and style, emphasizing and so exposing history's processes of assemblage and composition.

To demonstrate that some eighteenth-century secret histories functioned as metahistory, I will proceed directly to highly self-conscious examples: Daniel Defoe's *Secret History of the Secret History of the White Staff, Purse and Mitre* (1715), Hugh Speke's *Secret History of the Happy Revolution in 1688* (1715), and the anonymous *Secret History Relating to the Times* (1756).

SECRET HISTORIES AS METAHISTORIES

The title of Daniel Defoe's anonymously published *Secret History of the Secret History of the White Staff, Purse and Mitre* announces its self-consciousness as a publication, since it offers the idea of an exposé of an exposé. There is little doubt that Defoe's objective in producing this pamphlet was to undo the damage he had caused his employer, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, by publishing the original *Secret History of the White Staff* pamphlets. Harley had been removed by Queen Anne from his government position as the equivalent of prime minister (a post symbolized by the white staff its holders carried). Defoe rushed to Harley's defense, only to have his pamphleteering strategy backfire by provoking denunciations of Harley for authoring such self-serving propaganda. Defoe then hastened to discredit his own pamphlets and chose to accomplish that with a *Secret History of the Secret History* discrediting all pamphlet publications whatsoever as self-interested, profiteering, and unreliable. (Downie, 1979, pp. 186-88; Backscheider, 1989, p. 375; Novak, 2001, p. 465ff; Sherman, 1994, p.1)

In this text, printed in dialogue form, the anonymous narrator encourages a knowledgeable Quaker to explain his accusation that the original Secret Histories of the White Staff were "Fables, being compos'd by Evil Persons for Lucre and Gain" (Defoe, 1715, p. 14). As has been pointed out, the design of Defoe's "secret history of secret history" serves as a critique of all works that issue from the press and also undoes the public's sense of its own agency. Readers are given to understand that the knowledge imparted to them by pamphlets, and on which they thought they could act by means of the leverage of opinion, is unstable. The actual workings of government will always be shrouded in mystery (Sherman, 1994).

The Quaker reports to the narrator information he received on the authority of a deathbed confession:

"There are, it seems, *said he*, several Clubs, or Setts of these Men, who are kept in constant Employment by the booksellers, or Publishers of Pamphlets, …these Persons do not Consult the Side, or Party on which, or in whose behalf the said Books may be suppos'd to plead; but the great Thing, which they regard, is that the said Books *may Sell* …" (Defoe, 1715, p.18)

This pamphlet consequently guides readers to interpret published narratives as devices to make profit without regard to political interests. Moreover, the public's hope of understanding and influencing politics is merely exploited as the booksellers stir up political controversy by paying writers to publish pamphlets opposing one another:

"…it was their frequent Practice to employ one Man, or Sett of Men to write a Book upon this or that Subject; and if that Book succeeded, that is to say, if it Sold well, then to employ others, or perhaps the same Hands to write Answers to the same Book" (Defoe, 1715, pp. 19-20)

The public's sense that it can have knowledge of affairs is consequently dissipated by the *Secret History of Secret History*'s vivid depiction of the commodified, interest-serving creation of representations now seeable only as unreliable and as passed through the hands of a group of collaborators. The text amply fulfills the roles of meta-story, meta-narrative, and meta-text and could imply meta-source or meta-past critique as well. Defoe's account creates in readers a recognition of the mediated nature of any knowledge they believe they have access to through printed representations, but also does so in a publication that encourages readerly awareness of the narrative form itself through which they receive this information: The Quaker dialogue raises the alert as to the human sources of information and the multiple, profiteering hands through which it passes. The dialogue form combines direct rather than only indirect quotation with a facsimile of give and take, challenge and response. The Quaker's view is exhibited by Defoe as withstanding interrogation and also invokes a second-hand report from a witness whose imminent death validates his honesty, narrative machinery that may be noticeable to readers.

The *Secret History of Secret History* implicitly calls its own authority into question in order to take down all other printed authorities, and so to construct "plausible deniability" for the original *Secret History of the White Staff*. The document initiates readers into the recognition that public knowledge is materially constructed by groups with a detailed vision of the process through which writers and booksellers assemble their very sources of knowledge as material media and arbitrarily create historical arguments and commentaries designed to manufacture differences of perspective. The pamphlet's own writing of secret history opens a window onto a tangled heap of representations. *The Secret History of the Happy Revolution in 1688*, written by Hugh Speke to vindicate himself at the time of King George and the Hanoverian dynasty's ascension to the throne, should be considered primarily for the dimensions of representation it adds to historical practice. Speke commends himself to the newly resurgent Whig political party by arguing his strong contributions to the previous Whig-allied monarchy of William and Mary. His secret history account, "a circumstantiated Relation of several Incidents" (Preface), asserts that King James II had asked Speke to spy for him on the newly landed William of Orange, whom English lords had recently invited over to bring regime change to England. Speke maintains that he agreed to spy for James but nothing more, and that he began to promote the cause of the Revolution as soon as he arrived on the scene. He donated his letter of safe passage usefully to agents serving William and took on a series of communications tasks that made small but pivotal contributions to William's warm reception as he progressed through the land to accept England's crown.

Speke's secret history contributes a particular, vivid dimension to the practice of history and could count as metahistory because of its deliberate effort to represent a complex context of an ordinary person's experience as part of a major historical event. Speke's description of his process of choosing to devote a series of small actions to helping bring about a larger event, a change of monarch, leads readers to grasp with a fine sense of detail the idea that an event in history is composed of a host of actions on the part of large numbers of people, almost all of whom remain unknown. Speke only makes visible his somewhat more heroic than ordinary decisions to act because he needs to redeem his reputation. He would otherwise not put himself forward. In his hands, the secret history genre operates not as scandal but in another of its common forms, the memoir. As a rare non-scandalous, non-critical secret history, it is something of a novelty for this genre. Its contribution to historical practice takes shape as representation of the experience of an ordinary personage who would otherwise not have become known to the public as part of events. And it was inevitably met with rebuttal in the press challenging the veracity of any part of such a representation.

The example of *The Secret History of the Happy Rebellion* appears to function as meta-past since it raises readers' consciousness regarding the differing spatial scopes defining experience and the various levels of activity that a historian could choose among. The past can be understood as rhetorically malleable in shape as particular representations push forward by means of narratives, leaving other realms of experience in darkness.

In the *Secret History Relating to the Times, Particularly the Rumour of an Invasion. An Essay tending to quiet the Minds of the People* (1756), the anonymous writer calls attention to how historical events or actors are constructed as concepts in public perception by baldy declaring that the Young Pretender Prince Charles, grandson of King James II, rumored on the verge of invading Britain, does not exist. The writer means that even though France appears to be planning to repeat the 1745 attempt at restoring the Jacobite dynasty to England, the character of Prince Charles is a complete fiction and the event a non-event: "I will lay a Wager you may go to Cards in Safety, and not throw way your Money to keep out the Pretender, ...as I shall, perhaps, prove there neither is, nor ever was such a Person" (1756, p. 6). This secret history consequently functions as metahistory through the radical suggestion that publicly known events or persons could well be figments of public imagination--constructs that could be baseless. This example might offer a particularly clear example of meta-past as well, since it suggests that major events or historical actors, in existing in perception and rumor, might or might not be there. Readers are encouraged to see the past as resembling a vast mirage.

CARRYING OUT POSTMODERN PRESCRIPTIONS

If secret history may function as metahistory, it is worth pointing out that a number of early eighteenth-century secret histories fulfill the objectives set forth in *Beyond the Great Story's* concluding manifesto, which describes the postmodern historical practices Robert Berkhofer would like to see.

1) In his concern that the third-person, omniscient narrative voice of histories might reinforce an aura of authority and create the impression that a single voice dominates, Berkhofer calls for multi-voiced histories and for recognition that "The active reader and critical reviewer make a historical text a collaborative effort … even to the extent of

creating a countertext" (1995, p. 281). He also points out that habits of realism in representation serve as assumptions creating coherence in histories much as they do in fiction (1995, pp. 280, 66-70).

→The above description of Defoe's *Secret History of the Secret History of the White Staff, Purse, and Mitre* (1715) may provide ample illustration of secret history's essaying these functions.

→The blurring of distinctions between history and fiction is an accusation commonly leveled at secret histories. The pamphleteering they engage in also frequently involves contrapuntal structure that exposes the controversial and contested nature of the historical representations that are their subjects. Where Berkhofer calls for greater experimentation in genre (1995, p. 282), moreover, it must be added that secret histories take myriad forms that include the contest among points of view, including dialog and parallel texts, printed both side by side and above and below.

→ Notably, in writing the third volume of *The Compleat History of England* (1706), White Kennett explicitly adopted the strategy of presenting multiple voices and including primary source documents themselves, as his "To the Reader" explains, because he was representing recent history and knew it would be impossible to avoid controversy. For that reason, he also chose anonymous authorship—a telling case of anonymity being used not to achieve the effect of omniscience and authority but, since attention was called to it explicitly, to signify the narrative's inevitably contested nature.

2) Berkhofer proposes (1995, p. 281) that the tasks of historians as reflexive readers and reviewers are:

a)   to demystify and deconstruct what historians as authors or teachers have combined or fused in a text as history; to explore and reveal the structure of interpretation and the means of representation for what they are; to show how a history is a multilayered text of evidential interpretation, argument, narrative, and Great Story;

→ Daniel Defoe, as described above, and John Oldmixon wrote secret histories that largely carried out these directives. Oldmixon's *Secret History of Europe* (1712-14) in multiple volumes continues the project of "critical history" or "history of history" he had earlier initiated in critique of national histories by Lawrence Echard and Lord Clarendon. The debate structure of these pamphlets consists, moreover, of quotations from his sources each couched in Oldmixon's commentary and supporting his efforts to blame English policy for England's vulnerability to France. He explains that most of his materials are "in separate Pieces, and some of very different Natures, which probably would never have fallen into the Hands of one Man, at least he would not have made the same use of them, which these are intended for, they being no where put in so proper a Light" (1712, Preface). Evidently, a reader's knowledge of events is fragile, dependant as it is upon the chance that one writer may assemble the right sources. The result creates a vivid impression of the contested nature of representations of every detail of episodes that national histories narrate in streamlined prose. Unlike the tendency of secret histories to recount events so recent as to be nearly current, Oldmixon's vision encompasses not only currently sensitive partisan issues but a long view of the national past. Indeed, Oldmixon wrote his own folio volumes of *The History of England*.

→*The Secret History of the Geertruydenbergh Negotiation* (1712) included a set of letters, treated as documentary evidence, from the diplomatic exchange through which Robert Harley's administration moved England toward peace with France in the War of the Spanish Succession. The pamphlet also included a timeline and a distinct section containing the pamphlet's political argument. The whole was prefaced with a quoted maxim from La Bruyere cautioning against presuming that knowledge of men's characters could be inferred from public actions, a warning that fits the pamphlet's presentation of the complexity of the issue.

b)   to apply the rhetoric and poetics of history in explicating the stylistic figuration, tropological prefiguration, and structures of expression in general;

→Lord Clarendon's high-flown literary style or "rhetoric" and "ornament" in the *History of the Great Rebellion* is a favorite target of John Oldmixon.

→ *A Satyr Upon King William, Being the Secret History of His Life and Reign* (1703) turns the accusations made against William by his opponents into extravagant, quasi-literary constructions against which this satire opposes an account of the human, realistic policies and accomplishments of the king during his reign. The views of William's opponents are turned into unrealistic expectations of superhuman heroism and perfection.

→During this period, secret histories repeat the common accusation that a history's narrative is clearly romance or fable instead of sober truth.

c)   to expose how discursive practices, have both enabled the textualization (sic) and suppressed other representations;

→It would be difficult to find a genre more patently oriented toward this form of exposure than "secret history." The overriding premise of a large number of these works is that they are representing information that has been suppressed. Rebecca Bullard has demonstrated how extensively the claim of disclosure is a marketing and political ploy describing materials recycled from already-accessible information (The Politics of Disclosure). Still, secret histories such as of "the Calves' Head Club" (1704) or Defoe's of "The October Club" (1711) vividly represent the hidden quality of the events and documents portrayed. John Oldmixon's at times fine-grained analysis, as a "critical historian," of the bias that distorts reader's understandings through the very phrasings of his opponents' texts also alerts his readers to the political influence of textual qualities.
→The deliberate effort to create novelty in format from secret history to secret history joins the early eighteenth-century's explosive creation of novelty forms—new commodities—with the expansion of the book trade. The novelty formats invite awareness of the material construction of the book. (Hunter, 1990)

d)   to evaluate how well a discourse achieves reflexive and dialogic goals;

→The ancient dialectical move of exposing how a disputant commits the very faults he attacks in others features prominently in a number of secret histories, including Nicholas Amhurst's *Terrae-Filius, or, The Secret History of the University of Oxford* (1726 edition).
→Humanist philosophy of language, expressed in philology and exercised through training in rhetoric and dialectics, guided a widespread awareness among scholars of the mediating of perception through language. Attending this philosophy was the inference that play with language could cultivate a critical recognition that perspective and linguistic representation set conditions or even limitations to knowledge. Trickster figures were given credit for importantly contributing to the healthful reminder of the limitations of point of view and created checks on taking pride in one's individual knowledge claims. Humanists had available a philosophical understanding that words did not necessarily give access to material facts and so were able to manage the notion of representation as not reliably connected to referentiality, as Berkhofer's scheme would describe the matter. The large numbers of secret histories in the satirical mode provoked hostility as well as outright rejection of their representations and methods. These satires, of which Amhurst's *Secret History of Oxford* (1726) was an example, did, however, put the self-consciousness of history writers about the reliability of their methods and their representation to the test.

e)   and to uncover implicit politicization as well as explicit politics.

→Returning to the above diagrams, it is evident that Berkhofer recognizes the prominence of "partial" narratives representing a "partial" past. The idea of partiality maps ideology, especially political ideology onto the narrative arcs structuring partial accounts of specific subjects and selected parts of the past.
→ Oldmixon *Secret History of Europe* (1712-14), together with his numerous works of critical history, combine open polemic critiquing government policy with detailed analysis of the bias and interests shaping and distorting the points of view of the quotations he presents.

Secret histories may be fit into Berkhofer's historiography as they "collapse history into metahistory and practice it as a form of historical criticism" (Berkhofer, 1995, p. 264). The name secret history calls attention to the now-you-see-it-now-you-don't qualities of public knowing. The negotiations through which texts vie for public attention mediate what fills people's imaginations and bring particular subjects to the forefront. Their reminder that they are bringing very specific details into attention as they reveal particular secrets gestures toward the vastness of the world of actuality that, as a whole, cannot possibly be represented. The preface to Laurence Echard's *History of England* (1718) offers to the reader the metaphor of a traveler through a vast country to represent the narrative point of view of his own national history. By representing his national history narrative as journeying from stage to stage, Echard evidently imagines his narrative as dwarfed by the expanse of the past that extends beyond it on all sides, not a strong claim to grand narrative grasping a great past.

Since the controversies over postmodernism, historians have discussed a "return to narrative history" in terms that make clear that the discipline assumes the need to back its arguments with demonstrations of self-awareness about method. Narrative theory yields recognition of humanist and analytical dimensions at issue beyond referentiality as well as the variety of classifications into which narratives' implied arguments could fall (McCullagh, "What Do Historians Argue About?" in LaCapra, 1982). Secret histories enable us to explore analytically the processes out of which national history methodologies took form as conceptual institutions.

Rebecca Bullard articulates the awareness she attributes to the secret history genre in *The Politics of Disclosure*:

"…even if readers refuse to believe that a particular piece of information is true, the rhetorical act of revelation encourages them to consider the ways in which narratives of the past are constructed out of a selected and therefore contingent set of events. The act of disclosure demonstrates that secrets are narratives, created by rearranging sequences of events in such a way as to obscure the truth. It is the connections between secrecy, revelation, narrative, and political power, more than questions about fact and fiction per se, that preoccupy early modern secret historians." (Bullard, 2009, p. 5)

With this recognition that the nature of the secret implies that control over the concealment and revelation of knowledge has leverage, the genre argues the agency of writing and reading history, a humanist view that acknowledges the relationship between history and rhetoric.

Secret histories serve as emblematic of the dialectical structure by which established knowledge is critiqued and so serve as a mirror to the academy's orientation toward the discovery model that gives special attention to revisions that transform, overturn, challenge, or rebel against authoritative knowledge, of which the genre of national history stands as an obvious symbol. The disciplines therefore appear to be analyzable according to the metaphor of the "cabinet council," as writers negotiating a diversity of representations struggle to influence the institution establishing the domain counting as the imagining of the nation. David Zaret argues the significance of such pamphlet disputes, and the critical habits of awareness they provoke, in The Origins of Democratic Culture (2000).

CRITICAL HISTORY

What makes *Beyond the Great Story* a useful textbook for introducing historiographical conflicts to students also makes it serve as a guide to the continuing relevance of humanist influence across the disciplines. Robert Berkhofer writes that "To measure truth in and of history would seem to demand an approach as flexible and diverse as history itself is said to be" (1995, p.73), a comment apparently meant as criticism. Postmodern historiography itself, however, reflects the linguistic turn that affected disciplines across the twentieth-century academy, and it is worth noting that the linguistic turn echoes a great many insights brought to the fore by the philological underpinnings of seventeenth-century humanist empiricism. James Turner's *Philology* has recently championed this cause, whose influence has long since been studied by D.C. Douglas (1951), Fussner (1962), and Kelley (1991, 1991). Comparing the roles taken by many eighteenth-century secret histories with the critical stratagems Berkhofer calls for in the present creates a recognition that historiography as a discipline inevitably and perhaps dialectically draws critical histories to itself.

Berkhofer's anatomy of historical methods pinpoints exactly where historians make their human interpretive leaps as their reach exceeds their grasp. He then loses patience with such efforts to use human language about the world, tellingly calling for the use of (print) genre forms that have always been useful though of course not treated as grand narratives. Comparison of these to the eighteenth-century secret histories is illuminating because these works use such "partial," modest genre forms critically and polemically in their own time as well to target or correct what the public knows. If Berkhofer were to deny that these early eighteenth-century secret histories functioned as examples of his metahistorical analysis, he would be invoking the very disciplinary standards and principles of method that he has been critiquing. Secret histories' similarities to the function of metahistory as Berkhofer understands it caricatured their contemporary published historical narratives with such obvious and unreliable constructs that they invited questioning of the credibility of texts across the book trade. By implication, Lawrence Echard understood the secret histories of his time as attacking "crowned heads" themselves.

I have discussed only a few of some 200 secret histories published between 1667 and 1795 in England and France. Looking at actual secret histories complicates Leon Surette's generalizations about the genre as he is using it for the purpose of studying modernism (1993). Nevertheless, Surette's stereotyping of secret history is telling when he observes that secret history emphasizes that collaborating or even conspiring groups influence events, whether that

influence is malign or benign. The model of the group, encompassing cabinet councils and factions, might also be taken to describe a discipline and its construction of authority. The humanist tradition assumes that human interpretations take on agency as they shape public knowledge through readers. In any case, history and critical history could be equated as the discipline keeps falling back on the underlying empirical but also humanist model accommodating the concepts of limited perspective, character, and interpretation through language.

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FROM GENERALS TO SLAVES: THE PROMISE AND PERIL OF HISTORICAL EXPLANATION FOUNDED UPON EXCEPTIONAL INDIVIDUALS

JEFFREY MULLINS

ABSTRACT

Individual historical figures have long been a staple of historical narratives. Be it the lives of kings or presidents, heroic military leaders or crusading religious figures, prominent individuals have been the mainstay of historical writing for centuries. Late in the twentieth century, however, the turn towards the "new social history" had two profound effects on this tradition. In many works of social history, individuals largely fell by the wayside in favor of more sociological accounts of the past, wherein statistical analysis could illustrate larger patterns of lived existence. And, when individual figures did take center stage, they were no longer elite white males, but more marginalized figures: slaves, the working class, women, ethnic minorities. In American history, for example, George Washington gave way to Frederick Douglass.

By the 1990s, however, a new historiographical movement was afoot. Although not entirely abandoning the goals and findings of social history, the "new cultural history" shifted the focus of historical inquiry. Large-scale studies of aggregate experience gave way to particular cultural moments and situations, oftentimes relatively obscure. In place of the community study or regression analysis of wage data came the strange case of Martin Guerre (Natalie Zemon Davis), the fantastical cosmology of the Italian miller Menocchio (Carlo Ginzburg), or the robust slaughter of cats by French workers (Robert Darnton). Even as this turn to cultural history seemed to depart from earlier models of historiography even further than had the new social history, it also entailed an ironic return to the older style. Once again, the stories of colorful individuals take priority as a means of explaining major historical developments. The key difference is that, in the new cultural history, socially marginal (and often obscure) figures replace the princes and presidents of the older style of narrative history.

This paper uses the case of two exceptional—yet highly marginalized—individuals to explore the questions of (1) what we can fruitfully learn from the new cultural history's re-engagement with the stories of individuals, and (2) what are some of the shortcomings of placing historical explanations upon the foundation of individual people, especially people whose situation and actions were often highly atypical. Specifically, we have the case of David McDonogh and Washington McDonogh, two Louisiana sugar plantation field hands, who found the opportunity to attend Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania. Their owner, John McDonogh, was induced to send them to Lafayette by agents of the American Colonization Society (ACS), who realized that they needed educated leaders for their nascent West African colony in Liberia. While in Pennsylvania, they learned that their opportunity had severe limitations (e.g. segregated lessons and living quarters), and reacted to the experience very differently. Washington McDonogh ultimately complied with his original arrangement with the ACS, and went to Liberia as a missionary. David McDonogh broke with both the ACS and his former master, received a medical education in New York City, and launched a career there.

Looking at this fascinating case can tell us a lot about slavery, race relations, educational norms, and conceptions of agency in nineteenth-century America. But we also need a larger context within which to set this particular historical episode. Throughout the exposition of David and David McDonogh's highly atypical journey, this paper will (1) make comparisons to other major works of historical writing of the past quarter century, and (2) draw conclusions about the larger messages and explanatory pitfalls of using such cases to craft explanations of larger historical developments.

THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN KAZAKHSTAN: THE SOVIET PAST

AINAGUL SMETOVA, ALMIRA OMAROVA

ABSTRACT

During the Soviet Union, strict control of history by the state was integral part of ideology. "Right" historical writings and teachings appropriate to the communist party were used to promote Soviet values based on Marxism, Leninism and communism. Pressure over history writings, censorship, and repressions created an official history. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, its composing states have been going through similar processes of nation-building, where history is still an important part of domestic policy. During the initial years of 1990s, newly independent countries abandoned Marxist dogma that in turn created an ideological vacuum, which is enhanced by socio-political and economic crisis, and post-Soviet emotional flatter. Under these circumstances, questions on formation of post-Soviet identity based on recreated historical consciousness became the focal point of politics of memory.

This article will define and analyze the politics of memory in contemporary Kazakhstan where the process of creation of historical consciousness about the Soviet past would be taken as a case study. The concept of politics of memory generally described as a set of practices aimed to shape the collective memory includes various approaches such as commemoration practices, adjustment of educational standards, emphasizing on chosen historical events and forgetting others. Therefore, paper will primarily focus on the nature of school history curricula (with special reference to school textbooks on history of the twentieth century), development of the State and historical science relationships, and commemoration practices since 1991.

Key words: politics of memory, historical consciousness, identity, memory studies, Kazakhstan

INTRODUCTION

Possessing a capacity to build a foundation for collective memory and identity, history has always played an important role in society, becoming unique instrument of political powers. Thus in words of Anthony Smith "No memory no identity; no identity no nation" nothing can better describe and justifies this history-politics relationship. Studies on memory became the object of academic research in the mid twentieth century mainly in historical, social, and cultural studies. In political science, studies on memory have narrow scope than in other fields, where Jan Kubik identifies the need to focus on strategies that political actors employ to make others remember and the effect of such manipulations (Kubik, 2014 p. 8). Among five types of collective memory (popular, official, autobiographical, historical and cultural), Kubik proposes to study official memory propagated by political actors in the public space, and cultural memory that covers monuments and memorials, commemoration practices, which practically demonstrates state efforts (Kubik, 2014).

Because of novelty of the field in political sciences, there is deficiency of literature, and lack of systematic studies, which creates discrepancies in theoretical aspects of the problem. Some attempts have been made to define the phenomenon of state involvement into history and memory construction, and creation of "official" historical consciousness. Analyzing state, memory and history relationships, Alexei Miller (2009) examines terms as "politization of history", "politics of memory", and "historical politics". Based on his analysis and widespread use of the term, state involvement into memory construction would be identified as the politics of memory. According to Miller, various public practices and norms towards regulation of collective memory, what includes commemoration, emphasizing particular historical events and ignoring others, regulation to archives access, determination of educational standards are politics of memory (Miller, 2009). Robert Traba adds that it is any intentional and formally legitimizing actions of politicians and government officials directed towards strengthening, erasure and re-definition of some public memory fragments (Traba, 2009).

Miller argues that politics of memory is unavoidable, and every society in a varying degree regulates the collective memory (Miller, 2009). In the same way, Richard J. Evans (2003) identifies the difference in practice of the politics of

memory: 1) for democratic government – it is means of strengthening national identity; 2) for authoritarian regime – it is tool of political indoctrination (Richard J. Evans, 2003). This is in contrast to another assumption according to which politics of memory is distinctive to societies in transition to democracy (Bell 2006, Kirchanov 2014).

Accepting political manipulations with history to construct collective memory, states need justification and groundings for involvement into history field, what Alexei Miller categorizes into four postulates: 1) history and memory is an arena of political fighting with enemies therefore "history is too important to be left to the care of historians"; 2) the politization of history is an "unavoidable evil" and everyone practice it; 3) it is part of patriotic education and there is need for inconsistent teaching of history so the children will learn "the basics"; 4) historians have a duty to put up solidarity resistance to interpretations of history that are detrimental to the homeland and are used by external enemies (Miller, 2012 p. 13-14).

Based on available literature, for the purpose of simplicity, the mechanisms of the politics of memory can be specified as: regulation of history curricula (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991; Ferro, 2003; Evans, 2003; Zajda and Zajda, 2003; Assmann, 2008); construction of specific places of memory, and establishing commemoration dates (Nora, 1989; Forest and Johnson, 2002; Dwyer and Alderman, 2008; Arnold-de Simine, 2013; Campbel, 2014). The results of the most studies show that these mechanisms are tied, and practiced parallel.

STATE AND THE HISTORY

During the Soviet period, history was fully politicized academic field, strictly controlled by the State. "Right" history teachings, appropriate to the communist party, were used to promote Soviet values based on Marxism, Leninism and communism. Pressure over history writing, censorship, and repressions created an official historical narration. After disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, newly independent countries, including Kazakhstan, abandoned Marxism that in turn created an ideological vacuum, which is enhanced by socio-political and economic crisis, and post-Soviet emotional flatter. During this period, practices typical for politics of memory as a change of toponyms, replacement or liquidation of Soviet monuments, creation of historical concepts and so forth took place in all post-Soviet countries commonly. Besides, the questions on legacy of the Communist past and assessment of the Soviet regime, questions on creation of national identity, legitimacy of power and absent ideology emerged. After getting independence, Central Asian countries turned towards history of titular nation to create the basis for legitimacy of power and identity construction. For instance, Amir Timur (known as Tamerlane) takes the general place in ideology of Uzbekistan; myth about *Manas* is important for Kyrgyzstan; Samanid Empire is the central for Tajikistan; Oghuz Khan is a central figure for Turkmenistan ideology; and Kazakhstan emphasizes the significance of period of the Kazakh Khanate in strengthening national statehood.

In Kazakhstan, politics of memory was activated in the middle of 1990s, where the first significant measure taken by the State was *Kazakhstan Respublikasynda tarihi sana kalyptasuynyn tuzhyrymdamasy* (The concept of formation of historical consciousness in the Republic of Kazakhstan) approved in 1995 at the meeting of the National Council of the State Policy under the President of Kazakhstan. The concept, prepared by known historian M.K. Kozybayev, aimed to identify the main priorities for historical science and national policy in the process of formation of historical consciousness. Continuous history, continuity of cultures, autochthony of the Kazakhs – are fundamental ideas, which lies in the center of the concept, and it shows various steps towards fulfilment an ideological gap. This concept set several tasks for the academic history of the country:

  − to reconstruct objective image of historical past
  − to develop researches on ancient and medieval history
  − to reconsider history of Kazakhstan during the Soviet period
  − to expand studies on history of modern period
  − to study history of Kazakh diaspora
  − to study the history of ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan (The Concept, 1995 p.24).

The analysis of the concept showing transitional character of historical science of the 1990s highlighted the need to study topics prohibited by the Soviet regime. Since history writing in the Soviet Union and Kazakhstan was under control of ideology and dogmas for years, co-called *belye pyatna* (white spots) were common phenomenon in historical narrative by 1991. Topics for researches were selected under the censorship that in turn created a gap of undiscovered and unstudied problems. Among the topics given in the concept are nomadism and nomadic civilization, origin of the ethnonym Kazakh, ethno-genesis of the Kazakh people, the formation of the Kazakh statehood, evolution of nomadic society, and problems of periodization of history of Kazakhstan, question of "accession" of Kazakhstan to the Russian Empire, resettlement and deportation of ethnic groups to the territory of

Kazakhstan. According to the authors, the process of formation of historical consciousness is not possible without support of the Government: "Implementation of the tasks of formation of historical consciousness is impossible without the legal and organizational support. Considering the needs of independent state, it is necessary to adopt new laws to protect cultural and historical heritage of the peoples of Kazakhstan, the historical cities, historical and cultural areas, the museum fund of the country." (The Concept, 1995 p. 29)

The concept followed by the chain of systematic measures: the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1996) declaring 1997 as a year of *National consensus and the victims of political repressions*, announcement of May 31 as commemoration day – *Day of Remembrance of Victims of Political Repression*, and declaration 1998 as a year of *National unity and national history.* In 1998, within the scope of the year of national unity and national history, republican onomastic commission worked on titles of settlements, as well as reconstruction works of memorials in cities Astana and Almaty, numerous archeological expeditions, as well as business trips to foreign archives were conducted.

The 2000s witnessed different types of State measures reflected in introduction and funding special programs such as *Madeni mura* (Cultural heritage) (2004-2011) and *Halyk tarih tolkynynda* (People in the stream of history) (2014-2016). The main goal of these programs is fulfilment of the gaps and building a coherent picture of the history of Kazakhstan.

In 2003, during the annual address to the people of Kazakhstan, the President Nursultan Nazarbayev ordered to elaborate and to start realization of the special state program *Madeni mura*. The program was launched in 2004 for two years. Later another two stages of the program: 2007 – 2009 and 2009 – 2011 were organized. Kazakhstan was the first country among the CIS countries to start realization of such large-scaled project.

In 2013, State Secretary of the Republic of Kazakhstan Marat Tazhin announced the suggestion of President Nursultan Nazarbaev about elaboration of special program of historical studies *Halyk tarih tolkynynda* for 2014-2016. Today, the leading scholars of the Republic of Kazakhstan are working on different research projects, the results of which will be seen in 2017.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOVIET PAST: SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Several scholars define school history textbooks as ideological tool (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991; Ferro, 2003; Evans, 2003; Zajda and Zajda, 2003; Assmann, 2008). According to Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith (1991) history textbooks, despite of potentially objective and neutral nature, are used by the state to promote certain belief system and legitimize existing political order. According to Aleida Assmann (2008) nation-state and history textbooks are connected, where history is the main component of which political memory, identity and myth are made of. Therefore, she identifies applied functions of history reflected in school curricula, and demonstrates textbooks as: a vehicle of national memory; weapons of mass-instruction; backbone for the nation-state (Assmann, 2008 pp. 64-65).

In 1990, History of the Kazakh SSR, separate from general history of the Soviet Union, became a compulsory subject in schools of Soviet Kazakhstan. After disintegration of the Union, newly independent countries abandoned the concept of single approved history textbooks for schools. In 1994, new programs on history for secondary schools were taken in Kazakhstan, where two separate courses of World history and History of Kazakhstan with the same periodization were implemented. History of Kazakhstan became compulsory course for every level of education starting from elementary school and ending at higher institutions, where the presence of state level examination highlights importance of the discipline.

History teaching in Kazakhstan after 1991 faced the need to conduct reforms in various fields such as textbook content, teaching methods, history teaching standards (Kissane, 2005). The processes of 1990s rightly characterized by Kissane:

"Reforming history education after the dissolution of the Soviet Union became a multi-dimensional project. This period provided a critical opportunity for historians in Kazakhstan to re-evaluate Soviet history and reinterpret how Kazakhstan's history is portrayed in textbooks and classrooms. Along with this re-evaluation came criticism and concern over its nation building strategy and whether it was moving towards a more nationalistic and exclusive view of the nation or towards a more inclusive, multi-ethnic view. Would the country embark on an ethno-nationalizing scheme or would it seek to balance potentially" (Kissane, 2005)

According to Zhakupova, development of history education can be divided into two stages: the first stage, characterized by the process of disintegration of the former system of historical education existed during the Soviet period, and search for the new system of education for independent Kazakhstan; the second stage related to the

adoption of the Law on Education dated July 27, 2007, and the development of standards of history education (Zhakupova, 2015).

According to *Education program standard on subject of "History of Kazakhstan" (2013)*, placed on official website of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, history as a school subject begins from the fifth grade. By the end of the ninth grade, history program has to be completed. Since Kazakhstan has 11 years school education, pupils repeat entire history course initially during last two years of studies at school. The purpose of this part of the article is to analyze how the Soviet period is portrayed in school history textbooks.

History of the twentieth century and the Soviet period is studied by the pupils of the 9th grade of elementary schools. For understanding how contemporary Kazakhstan creates historical consciousness about the Soviet past, textbook *History of Kazakhstan (since the beginning of the twentieth century till now)* written by Manash Kozybayev, Kenes Nurpeis, and Kanat Zhukeshev (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013) is taken for analysis. The textbook is approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Kazakhstan.

Content of the textbook is divided into three parts: Kazakhstan as a part of Russian Colonial Empire; Kazakhstan under the Soviet totalitarian regime; Independent Kazakhstan. Our focus would be on the second part "Kazakhstan under the Soviet totalitarian regime", which covers seven chapters:

Chapter 3. National movement. The Soviets in Kazakhstan. Civil War. Kazakhstan in the first part of the 20s of the twentieth century.

Chapter 4. Development of Kazakhstan in the second part of the 20-30s of the twentieth century.

Chapter 5. Culture of Kazakhstan (1900-1940).

Chapter 6. Kazakhstan during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945).

Chapter 7. Kazakhstan in the second half of the 40s – mid. 60s of the twentieth century.

Chapter 8. Kazakhstan during period of stagnation (1960-1980)

Chapter 9. Kazakhstan during profound changes

In the analysis of the school history textbooks, the focus was on the following aspects: evaluation of the Soviet period – positive and negative sides, definition of the main heroes and antiheroes, use of terms in description of people living in Kazakhstan, and the factor of multiethnic nature of Kazakhstan.

In terms of evaluation the Soviet regime, first of all, the authors highlight the ambiguous nature of the Soviet policy: "The process of development of the Soviet Union was inconsistent. Calamity and tragedy alternated substantial gains and achievements. During the Soviet regime the Kazakh people suffered huge deprivation (famine of 1930-1932), lost its intelligentsia, many people were forced to migrate to other countries. Yet at the same time, revest of the national statehood, rise of the status of republic took place. Within RSFSR Kazakh ASSR changed into developed agro-industrial republic" (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013 p. 89). Along with attained territorial autonomy, authors emphasized positive achievement of the Soviet regime such as changes in social and class structure, development of women movements, as well as industry, culture and education. "In a short span of time socialism, even being misshapen, liquidated class, national and colonial oppression, illiteracy and medieval-era backwardness, put in practice emancipation of women" (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013 p. 113). In the textbook, abolishment and prohibition of traditions and customs practiced by the Kazakhs as *kalym* (bride's prize), polygamy, *amengerlik* are emphasized as a positive sides of the regime policy (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013 p. 58). However, pupils are being taught that achievements of the Soviet regime in Kazakhstan had a big prize, where totalitarian system and center-oriented nature of economy are the major points of negative sides of the Soviet past. " Repressive policy: expansion of camps barricaded from the world by barbed wire, forceful destruction of centuries-old nomadic style of life, demolition of people's traditions, impoverishment and famine of the Kazakh *sharua* and peasants of other regions, enormous challenge to people strength – all of it are typical to the features of the country industrialization" (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013 p. 70). Thus, the general idea taken from the course is acceptance of certain advantages that Kazakhstan gained being part of the USSR, but with strong concept of prevalence of the negative sides, a big price payed by people of all nationalities. The analysis of the textbook put forward the view that the main antihero of the time was the State, particularly the leadership. There totalitarian system has Stalin's and Goloshekin's faces, which leadership brought to the "destruction of socio-economic genotype, peasantry, genocide" (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013 p.79). In contrast, the Kazakh national intelligentsia portrayed as the victims of the system, and the main heroes of the time, where efforts of the Kazakh intelligentsia directed towards creation and strengthening Kazakh autonomy within the USSR in the beginning of the twentieth century were particularly highlighted, what according to the textbook make a basis for independency of Kazakhstan.

Despite of large scale emigration of various ethnic groups to their historical homeland, which occurred after disintegration of the Soviet Union, present day Kazakhstan remains multiethnic country. More than 120 ethnic groups live in Kazakhstan, where the Kazakhs and Russians consist 66% and 21% of the total population respectively. Zhakupova (2015) argues that official national policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan doesn't lay emphasis on titular nation, but on citizenhood and equality of nationalities, as Kazakhstan is multiethnic country. Thence expressions such as "people of Kazakhstan", "History of Kazakhstan" used in official narrative. In the textbook *History of Kazakhstan (since the beginning of the twentieth century till now)* words and phrases such as labors of Kazakhstan, peasants, people, indigenous population, migrant population, Kazakhstani, etc. were used to describe the people. But, despite of the concept that the state does not emphasis history on the titular nation, history of the Kazakh people occupies the main place in the textbook. It is justified by the authors in the preface: "pupils should get the gist of those social and political experiments carried out over the Kazakh people, indigenous population of our republic" (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013 p. 4). There are two points: Kazakhstan is home to everyone, but historically it is land of the Kazakh people consequently history of the Kazakhs takes the main place. In the case of other nationalities living in Kazakhstan, their history comes separately from the general "people of Kazakhstan" in the scope of forceful deportation during Stalinist era, when Germans, Poles, Koreans, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Karachai, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Meskhetin Turks, Kurds, Azeris, etc. were forcefully resettled in Kazakhstan. The process of deportation described in the textbook as a tragedy, where deported people, *spetspereselentsy*, suffered a lot. Along with the cruel character of the regime, hospitality and help of the Kazakh people to the repressed people is the focal point of the textbook. "People shared the food and houses, helped to adjust to the new living conditions. The majority of the settlers decided to stay in Kazakhstani land forever" (Kozybayev, Nurpeis and Zhukeshev, 2013 p. 88).

SOVIET PAST IN PUBLIC SPACES
The most important events are embodied in to the symbols, and these symbols are the cultural and historical monuments. In the contemporary scientific methodology, these processes are called as a commemoration. This is the most important detail of the state policy and the tool of nation building. Studies on places of memory, known as concept *lieux de memoire* originated by Pierre Nora, are important in understanding politics of memory. Nora argues that historical consciousness and collective identity can be studied through analysis of places of memory, which according to him are symbolic reflection of national idea including monuments and memorials, commemoration and jubilee (Nora, 1989).
According to Arnold-de Simine (2013) and Campbel (2014) the main purpose of memory is for prepare us to the future; hence they assess museums and memorials as the main institutions through which rituals of remembrance and commemoration, and other "political myths" are performed in the public. Dwyer and Alderman (2008) argue that collective memory is socio-spatially mediated political process, where places of memory play a significant role. Sites of memory as part of symbolic system reflect contemporary events, issues, and social tensions, same time they are mirrors of present values and worldviews of ruling leaders (Dwyer and Alderman, 2008 p. 168).
Reconstruction of places of memory reflects changes of political regime. Therefore, Forest and Johnson (2002) identify three possible changes that monuments and other places of memory can experience during transition from one regime to another: Co-opted/Glorified (maintained or further exulted), Disavowed (erased from the landscape), and Contested (monuments remain the object of political conflict, neither clearly glorified nor disavowed) (Forest and Johnson, 2002 p. 525). In this part of the article, we would focus on these aspects of politics of memory.
In the process of construction of national identity and formation of an objective historical memory concerning the Soviet epoch, we can trace a concrete contradiction in the consciousness of contemporary generation, which are demanding its own scientific and objective reflection. Contemporary generation conceives the Soviet period contrast. Besides the school history textbooks, they can see the Soviet history through cultural and historical sights and monuments, which were established during Soviet period and in contemporary time.
Construction of collective memory in Kazakhstan has been explored by several scholars within the scope of studies on commemoration practices and construction of places of memory, where memorials and monuments are identified as reflection of state ideology and policy of creation of national identity (Forest and Johnson, 2002; Danzer, 2009). According to Natalie Koch (2010), who studied the role of symbols in the process of construction new capital of Kazakhstan Astana, one of the reasons of capital shift is rooted to the ideology, where new capital was designed to stimulate such feelings of pride and national identity devoid of memories of Soviet Past (Koch, 2010 p. 770). Similarly, Danzer (2009) identifies Astana as a stark example of use of monuments in building the national identity and de-

sovetization (Danzer, 2009). Memorials and monuments are visual examples of legitimation of titular supremacy within new independent state, nationalism and so called process of Kazakhification (Danzer, 2009).

Studies on places of memory in Kazakhstan show that after disintegration of the Soviet Union, monuments of the Soviet-era did not vanish from cityscape in an overnight and stay visible even today. Even so, the message of these signs of the past has changed, where the greatness has been replaced by the tragedy (Koch, 2010).

In this part of the article, discussion over historical places and commemoration practices was carried out through studies of two cities: Astana, new capital of Kazakhstan, previously known as Akmolinsk and later as Tselinograd, which is today full of symbolic places reflecting nation building policy; and Pavlodar, a small periphery city in the north-east of Kazakhstan, where design of the city as well as old buildings still recall the Soviet past.

Conducted studies show that there is a little presence of the Soviet monuments in Astana today, and existing monuments dedicated to that period were constructed after 1991. These monuments and memorials such as Memorial complex devoted to the victims of the famine of 1932-1933 ("*1932-1933 zhyldardagy asharshylyk kurbandaryna tagzym*"), Memorial to the victims of political repressions and totalitarianism situated near *ALZHIR* museum (Akmola camp for wives of traitors of the Motherland – part of the GULAG system), monuments dedicated to the Great Patriotic War and Afghan War evoke memories of the tragedy or terror.
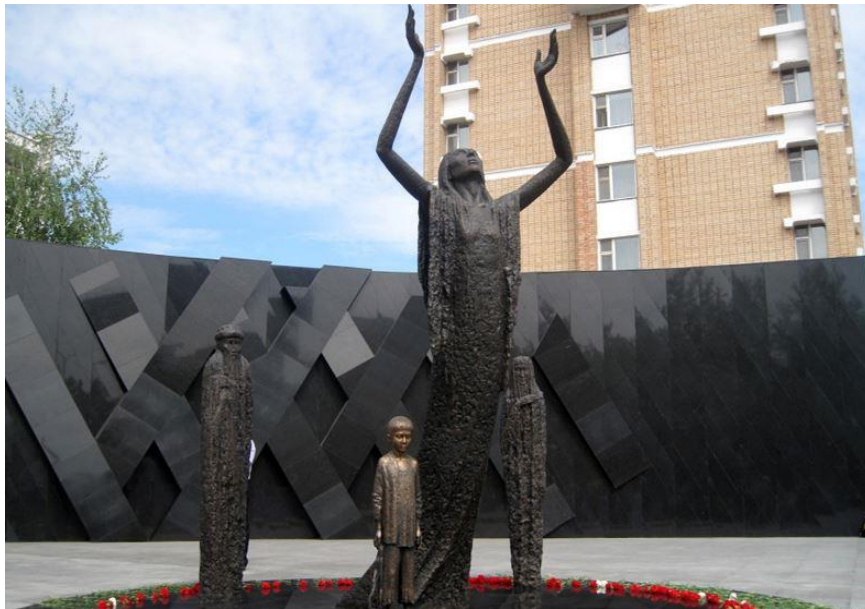

Figure 1. "*1932-1933 zhyldardagy asharshylyk kurbandaryna tagzym*", Memorial complex dedicated to the victims of the famine of 1932-1933 was established in 2012. The opening ceremony took place on May, 31, which is official commemoration *Day of Remembrance of Victims of Political Repressions*". Astana. Kazakhstan. Photo was taken by Svetlana Glushkova (www.info-astana.kz).

In comparison with Astana, Pavlodar has more to say about the Soviet Past. Memorials constructed during the Soviet regime can be found there in the city center such as the Obelisk to fallen soldiers during the Great Patriotic War (1970) dedicated to the soldiers from North Kazakhstan failed to return from front, Monument to Chernobyl cleanup veterans, and Statue of Lenin.

Figure 2. The Obelisk to fallen soldiers during the Great Patriotic War (1970) dedicated to the soldiers from North Kazakhstan failed to return from front. Pavlodar. Kazakhstan. Photo was taken by the author in 2014.

Apart of the old monuments, there are new constructions dedicated to the Soviet past. But these monuments emphasis negative aspects of the regime such as political repressions, famine, politics of collectivization, forced deportation. In Pavlodar, there are two monuments: Memorial devoted to the victims of the famine situated near the Old Muslim cemetery and Memorial complex dedicated to the victims of Political Repressions, which was opened at the same time with analogous complex in Astana.

Figure 3. Memorial complex dedicated to the victims of Political Repressions was established in 2012. The opening ceremony took place on 31st of May, which is official commemoration *Day of Remembrance of Victims of Political Repressions*. Pavlodar. Kazakhstan. Photo was taken by the author in 2014.

Another essential point is related to the first leader of the USSR, Vladimir Lenin, whose statues and busts were broadly spread around the whole Soviet Union. With the collapse of the Union in 1991, Lenin's monuments started to disappear from the public spaces that created wide debates in society. For instance, after declaration of Astana as a new capital of Kazakhstan in 1997, disputes began around Lenin's monument situated in the main square of the city since 1975. The main argument to relocate the monument was irrationality of presence of the monument dedicated to the Soviet leader nearby the Parliament of independent Kazakhstan. Eventually, the statue was removed

from the square. Today Lenin's monument is located on *Gorkomhoz* company grounds in Astana. In contrast to the new capital, monument of Lenin is still visible in Pavlodar's cityscape. Nevertheless, as elsewhere in Kazakhstan, it was re-located to the less significant place. There is a park named after Lenin, which is situated on the Lenin Street, where monument devoted to the Bolshevik leader can be found.

Today, public spaces in Kazakhstan are fulfilled by the monuments of pre-Soviet history, i.e. prominent personalities of the Kazakh Khanate, elements of Saka and Turk culture, as well as pre-Islamic traditions can be seen throughout the country. Parallel to them, there are symbolic monuments dedicated to the independent Kazakhstan such as monuments of *Kazakh eli* and *Mangilik el* in Astana. Despite of this fact, the studies of Astana and Pavlodar show that monuments of and dedicated to the Soviet period are important in contemporary Kazakhstan as the history of the period plays crucial role in formation of new identity. Therefore, memorials of the period will remain as a part of cityscapes with important message to the new generations: it was a period full of tragical events emerged as a result of totalitarian policy.

CONCLUSION

In 1991, all republics of the former Soviet Union faced a challenge rooted to the process of political transition from one type of state to another. Once being part of big power with strong ideological fundament based on communism and directed towards construction of common soviet identity, Kazakhstan after disintegration of the Soviet Union faced challenges of ideological character that in turn activated the politics of memory. Along with socio-economic crisis and euphoria because of independency, problems related to the questions of formation of identity apart from the Soviet past, and development of new ideology emerged. It brought to the reconstruction of collective memory through rewriting of national history, reshaping the places of memory.

For comprehensive understanding the nature of the politics of memory towards creation of historical consciousness about the Soviet past in independent Kazakhstan, history education with special reference to school history textbooks, the State measures and programs aimed to build a "new" historical consciousness, commemoration practices and places of memory were studied in the article.

Today, after twenty-five years of implementation of different programs initiated by the Kazakhstani Government, we can evaluate their contribution to the development of national history of Kazakhstan. First, it is important to note positive character of all measures taken to support historical science since 1990s as it created good environment for historical research works.

In terms of creation of historical consciousness about the Soviet Past, we can conclude that in comparison with other post-Soviet countries Kazakhstan does not segregate the period from its history. Analysis of the school textbook shows that the new generation is taught about contradictory character of history of the Soviet past. The State accept presence of certain advantages that Kazakhstan gained being part of the USSR, but with strong concept of prevalence of the negative sides, a big price payed by people of all nationalities. Another aspect is ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of Kazakhstan, which influence to the development of common, co-called "new Kazakhstani identity", and propagation of the idea of tolerance. This concept is reflected in the history textbook.

According to Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson: "The physical transformation of places of memory reflects the struggle among political actors for the symbolic capital embedded in and represented by these sites. By coopting, creating, altering, contesting, ignoring, or removing particular monuments, political actors engage in a symbolic dialogue with each other and with the public in an attempt to gain symbolic capital – the prestige, legitimacy, and influence derived from being associated with status-bearing ideas and figures" (Forest and Johnson, 2011 p. 273). In Kazakhstan, re-construction of the past aimed to create "new" identity distinct from the Soviet identity brought to the removal and re-location of memorials and monuments of the Soviet period. However, the process had fragmentary character as some Soviet memorials are left in the public sphere. The result of the study show that the memorial places remained from the communist legacy have common feature. All of them are aimed to construct historical consciousness about the past with strong basis of tragedy.

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TERRITOR(E)ALITIES: STORIES OF LAND AND TERRITORY IN THE GREEK PLAIN (THE SHIFT PARADIGM OF THESSALY)

LILIA MITSIOU

ABSTRACT

The theoretical question posed in this paper dealing with terrain and its mechanisms that it constitutes, eventually by constructing forms of state of power into a territorialization of processes and interdependencies.

There is a delicate point which renders Greece and notably Thessalian agricultural Plain as an exemplary study of such a project. Taking under consideration of the peripheral character of Greece, the Plain of Thessaly passed through territorialization and deterritorialization processes in modern history due to its geopolitical and territorial importance of rural production.

In order to establish our thesis we will examine historical narratives of property and land, outlining some principal tools of reterritorialization flows. Decoded flows have always existed and history of Thessaly is full of them: the displacements of nomads of the Balkans as a consideration of the motion that takes desire, the role of manor (Chiflik) during the transition from Ottoman Rule to capitalist way of production and the informal development of "free-worker" in the modern history of European development and common agricultural policy. The dissolutions of land ownership are defined by a simple decoding of flows, and compensated by residual forces or transformations of the State.

In light of the insights derived from these traditions, the article aims to conceptualize territorial components, land ownerships and social narratives into a story of decoding territorial flows within the territory of Greek region.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH IN APPRECIATION OF ALTERNATIVE HOUSING HISTORY: CASE OF 19TH CENTURY IZMIR HOUSES

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ABSTRACT

Eurocentric readings of architectural history have a tendency to classify early examples of Modern Architecture under formal categories. This tendency not only monopolizes the West in terms of Modern Architecture, it also pushes the Non-Western into the shadows. Classifying architectural products through formal similarities leads to the ignorance of unique local practices and know-how; which are crucial to architecture. Just like the classifications applied to 19th century İzmir houses, which are based on formal similarities; whether it fits the existing traditions or not. This is also the case when we evaluate studies that are accepted as essential for the history of İzmir housing. The housing types of this period are named as such: The Greek house, Western Anatolian House, Chios-type House and Transitional House. However, these houses have no reminiscent neither in the traditional Western Anatolian architecture nor in other housing traditions existing in the region. By only judging from the revivalist elements used in the façade, they are recognized as a part of the traditional architecture. Specifically, a Non-Western architectural product can be acknowledged as modern and carrying an innovational core only if it emerged simultaneously with the West, through a reflexive approach. The article suggests a model that will enable us to perceive Modern Architecture outside the scope of formal categories. This model was developed in order to determine conceptual associations that could be used in Modern Architectural literature and classifications, which have a substantial role in Alternative Architectural History. The model primarily depends upon the identification of the essential and common concepts in Modern Housing literature. Next, it is planned to question the validity of the named concepts in the subject of 19th century İzmir housing. This way, whether it suits the formal categories or not, the modernity of 19th century housing typology will be questioned. In so doing, it is aimed that a new channel will emerge, through which new kinds of modern constructional categories, typologies and geographies can be added to the Alternative Modern Housing literature.

1. INTRODUCTION:

Despite what was widely imposed in the Modern Architectural rhetoric, it is a common opinion in the field of architecture that modernization also has alternative channels to it, and these channels can exist in various spots in the world. In all areas of the literature, we see examples of modern architecture that are different than those in the West, but synchronically to it, and spread throughout time just like the Western examples. While the existence of alternative Modern Architecture channels is widely acknowledged, there simply aren't enough studies on documentation and classification of those examples. In other words; even though Modern Architecture is not defined on formal categories, not many examples are produced in terms of its alternatives' applications to the built environment. (Baydar, 2000) In particular we notice that very few studies go outside the scope of a historically progressive framework on the issue of housing; which makes up most of the built environment and lies at the center of Modern Architecture discussions. For example, our repertoire of "alternative" or "other" housing is limited by mostly women's studies, domesticity, and partially locality.

However, there is a wide housing stock waiting to be interpreted; which is spread through a broad geography and a scope of at least 200 years, belonging to a multitude of ethnic origins, social classes and gender groups. One such constructional pattern is a new type of housing emerged in 19th century Izmir. In this paper, we will look at 19th century İzmir house as a type of "alternative house" bearing the basic attributes of modern housing, but formally channeling traditional housing patterns at the same time. The first examples of this housing pattern, which newly emerged at the last quarter of the 19th century's Izmir and quickly spread all throughout the town, were built in

Punta; one of the new neighborhoods of the city. Just like the town houses in London or the apartment blocks in Paris; this article mainly argues that this new housing type taking over all of the ethnic, economic and geographical layers of the city must be qualified as a pioneering example of modern housing in Anatolia, and maybe even within the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

These houses built in İzmir during 19th century are usually categorized under one of the "traditional housing" categories. This could be seen clearly in prevalent studies concerning Izmir's housing history literature. Some examples of these categories are Traditional House, Greek House, Western Anatolian House, Chios Type House, Transitional or Interactional House (between traditional Turkish and Greek House). However, the houses mentioned fundamentally resemble neither to Western Anatolian house tradition up until the mid-19th century, nor the masonry housing tradition which is occasionally named the "non-Muslim" (Greek, Armenian) house in the literature. Despite this, we still see it being matched with one of the categories within our traditional housing repertoire. This situation results partially from it belonging to the past, partially it resembling to certain forms (local or universal) of the past, and partially from it not fitting the modern housing archetypes in our minds. (5) This way of perception built solely around formal associations contains a clear paradox within itself. It is a delusion that stems from us defining architectural production in terms of visual similarity rather than conceptual association. However, an evaluation made using conceptual similarities will both enable us to grasp the society's unique conditions, needs and opportunities, and to distinguish various forms of authentic knowledge, production, space and architectural styles. Through a study of this kind, it will be possible to deduct how modernization was adopted, differentiated and gave rise to new housing types as a cultural product.

Eurocentric interpretations of modernity not only monopolize West as the source of it, but also push aside non-Western experiences of modernization. This kind of informational hierarchy focuses primarily on the similarities of the non-Western to the West, and recognizes West as the ultimate owner of information and the single source of change. The concept of "non-Western modernity", on the contrary, redefines the frame of power relations between the West and the non-Western. This position has found a material anchor point in that we can observe non-Western societies are both a product of modernity and are producing modernity themselves. According to Nilüfer Göle, the precondition for telling apart non-Western modernity is that they should possess a synchronicity in the production of information, and a notable spark of innovation in terms of the knowledge and practices produced. (Göle, 1998)

Adaptation of this definition into any kind of material or cultural production field, including housing, requires the detection of both the existence and the synchronicity in modern, local and particular qualities. Such evaluation will enable us to evaluate not only the material contents of this article's main argument, but also its factual contents (in terms of causing phenomena and their results). In this situation, the method that should be pursued is the detection of the concepts that came into agenda by production of Modern Houses. A formal evaluation, while not mandatory, gains meaning when accompanied by factual assignments. In other words, factual questioning must be instrumentalized in order to make sense of formal similarities or differences. On the other hand, the local problems and solutions must also be considered. Determining the housing knowledge and culture consisting of these elements will both expand our alternative modern housing repertoire, and prove the validity of the argument proposed earlier on in the article. In short, confirming the opinion that the 19th century Izmir house is modern will only be possible through first an intensive examination of global concepts concerning this style of housing, followed by the detection of formal associations. It is also crucial that these detections are made considering what solutions these forms propose to local problems. In later chapters of this study, these topics will be elaborated accordingly. However, to ensure the understandability and to build a basis, we will first introduce the 19th century Izmir house in detail.

HISTORY OF MODERN HOUSING, DEFINITIONS AND ALTERNATIVES

Using Anthony Giddens' definition of modernity, we could define any cultural product falling outside the traditional scope, resulting from an interaction with the modern world and proposing a solution to current problems as "modern". In this definition, the condition is whether the cultural practice has been produced through an interpretive, selective or creative process rather than an application of customs or traditions. Taking these criteria into account, it could be deduced that stylistic qualities do not matter at all in distinguishing a modern product. Similarly to Nilüfer Göle's sociological remarks, prerequisites of an architectural product to be considered as modern is that its practice carry a spark of innovation, that it is not based on imitation, and that it is synchronic to the West.

İzmir existed as a multicultural city throughout history, and in 19th century it encountered a "Western and modern" world, created a distinctive city life, and also was able to produce a genuine housing culture that fits its own conditions. This housing typology became prominent starting from the mid-century, gradually diversifying in order

to satisfying needs of different ethnic and economic groups. Inspirations taken from Western housing typologies were adapted through the addition of existing architectural traditions and production conditions. In the last quarter of the century, it was materialized just like its Western counterparts, being partially mass produced, becoming widespread and transforming the housing patterns in the whole city. Without falling under the monopoly of one class or ethnic group, it was reproduced over and over through common senses and needs. This housing culture is neither a copy of Western examples nor a continuation of housing traditions. It is a sort of hybrid in the way Bhabha defines.

In Europe, the first examples of modern housing produced with a reflexive approach were built in industrial cities of the 19th century. In order to meet the increasing and changing housing demand resulting from industrialization, two main housing styles were developed in order to meet the increasing and changing housing demand resulting from industrialization in these cities. The first one of these is apartment blocks as in the Parisian example, and the other one is row houses, which we can see in many British industrial cities. Mostly mass-produced British row houses created a two-storey, mid-density urban pattern. While they were initially intended for the working class, they quickly were produced in different variations and standards, which were demanded by pretty much all income groups of the society. The front facade of these houses open up to the street, whereas the rear front does so to the courtyard on the back. Service spaces at the sides of the courtyard are attached to the main block. The main block consists of two axes; one narrow and one wide. The living spaces were located on the wide axis, whereas the narrow axis including the entrance performs as a hallway.

Typical İzmir house of the same period demonstrates a two-storey row house character, just like the industrial English counterparts. Most of the time it includes an asymmetrical facade and a wooden cumba. These housing units often consist of one narrow and one wide axes. On the main floor, the entrance hall is situated on the narrow axis, while the wide axis hosts living spaces and stairs. The upper floor has the bedrooms; some of which facing the street, and some the courtyard on the back. These rooms are usually arranged around a central hallway. Also on upper floor, the cumba, situated on the middle axis of the facade, fulfills the duty of a covered balcony. Ground floor has a service block extended to the main space, extending towards the rear garden. This block includes service units such as the kitchen, bathroom, toilet or pantry. These service spaces are mostly two-storey and attached perpendicularly to the main mass of houses. Entry into hallways are only possible through inside the house. Most of these houses include a basement. This floor was intended for ventilation against humidity problems that often occurred in basement floors. (figure 1) Structurally speaking, we see that a large part of 19th century İzmir houses, particularly those in Punta neighborhood, were built on a wooden frame system filled with rubble. In addition, use of I beams, cast iron corbels, iron entrance doors, sheet metal shutters. Typologically, the initial examples of what we consider "19th century İzmir house" are witnessed in Punta neighborhood. One part of these structures were commercially built row houses, and another part was mass-built quarters provided to the employees of railroad and electricity companies. However, the first non-traditional set of houses built in İzmir in the 19th century were large mansions and manors in the suburban neighborhoods of Bornova, Buca and Karşıyaka. These houses carry the stylistic influences of Neoclassical, Art-Nouveaux or Revivalist movements, and they were mostly designed by Western architects but were built using local labor. All of the housing units that followed would borrow both stylistic and constructional elements from these initial examples. Another factor shaping the standards of İzmir house is the style and constructional experience transferred from institutional structures. Along with Western settlers in the first quarter of 19th century, many large-scale public buildings such as schools, hospitals, post offices, factories, terminals and hotels were built. The know-how and experience gained from these buildings was partially transferred into housing by both builders and material manufacturers. The existing architectural traditions of the region should also be named as one of the origins of İzmir house. Amongst these, Western Anatolian housing tradition and the rural housing customs we mostly see in Greek villages are the most prominent influences. On the other hand, we should also mention the constructional customs transferred from Chios and other Aegean Islands. And lastly, the indirect influence of English country houses, which lie at the root of the British row house, should be considered as a shaping factor in 19th century İzmir house.
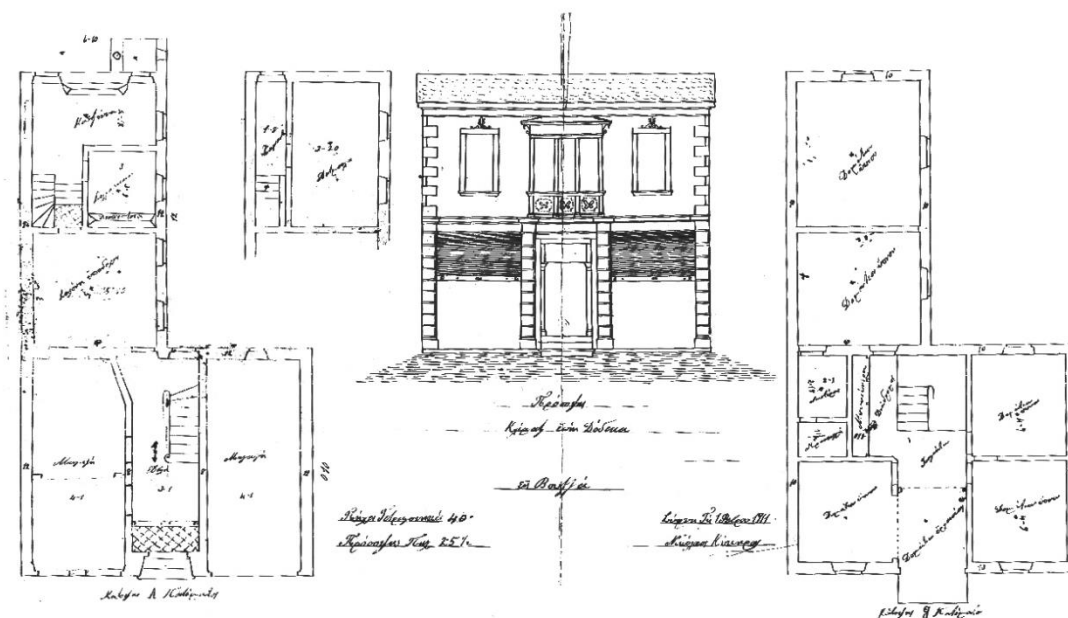
Figure 1.

Original drawing of a typical Izmir House

2. Essentials of Modern Housing:

2.1. Formal/Stylistic Qualities

In typological terms, row houses and apartment blocks became prevalent as the two main housing types in 19th century in the West. (Marcus, 1999) Either one of these two types, which made up the housing texture of industrial cities, was adopted according to the particular conditions of the city in question; such as its administrative structure, ownership of land, or size of the housing demand. (Kirschenmann, 1980) When settled on a certain housing type, it quickly became prevalent throughout the city or even the country, indiscriminate of cultural, ethnic or economic differences, and it met the increasing housing demand created by industrialization.

Row houses, one of the two housing types mentioned above, are first seen in British industrial cities in the 19th century. (Marcus, 1999) Evolved through a reproduction of the British rural housing tradition in urban areas, row houses were initially applied in worker's housing units built around factories. Row houses quickly gained popularity in housing areas belonging to both working class and mid-to-high income groups, and often planned in mass including building plots, parcels, streets and avenues. (Muthesius, 1990) Row houses took shape through the repetition and diversification of a standard housing type developed by speculative entrepreneurs, and approved by both communities and local governments. This housing type was predominantly applied in areas with a suitable structure of ownership; in which land property was not extensively divided. (Clark, 1982)

First row houses in England were a type named "back-to-back". The houses consisted of two uniform housing units sharing a common wall, and necessitated a new kind of social life. These initial examples; in which service areas were positioned outdoors, and cooking and living areas were in conjunction, had substantially low standards. During second half of the 19th century, the housing standards had changed for the better along with the production of quality housing. In this period, there was a wide consensus over another row housing type named "through-house". Through-houses each included a private courtyard hosting service units. These L-shaped housing units were situated upon a narrow frontal rectangle, and could also be produced in varying sizes. (Long, 1993) Design flexibility was achieved through the resizing of spaces according to the property size, and addition of extensional units. This way, it would be possible to produce housing of equivalent standards and organizational principles for different income groups. (Kaçel, 1998)

Despite the differences between facade and general outlook, 19th century Izmir house shows a great amount of similarity to the same period's English row houses. The similarity is not limited to the row layout of the houses. In addition, there are certain equivalent qualities in both housing styles, in terms of the urban patterns consisting of blocks, roads and courtyards; and the spatial organizations based on functional diversification. Also, ways that the main bulk of the house and service spaces come together are similar in the same sense. As could be seen in the comparative typological study given below, there is a striking resemblance between the positioning of horizontal circulation elements and the way these elements relate to service units. Despite the similarities in the organizational plans, there are prominent differences in terms of facade ordering. Above all, unlike the Victorian style widely applied to English row houses, İzmir houses were ornamented with a hybrid approach consisting of local architectures of Mediterranean and Aegean Islands, along with classical architecture. Apart from this stylistic dissimilarity, some facade elements such as cumba, elevated stepped entrances and eaves at the entrance are also different. Another difference we spot in the two row house types in the way their facades are ordered. Between these two housing types consisting of one narrow and one wide axis, English row houses have the facades of both their storeys asymmetrically, in accordance with the first floor. In İzmir house, however, the first floor was planned out symmetrically despite the asymmetrical facade order of the ground floor.

2.2. CONCEPTUAL QUALITIES

Modern architecture was shaped around some main concepts such as mass production and standardization, materialization, prevalence, reflexivity and a break from tradition. These generally accepted ideas apply not only the Western examples, but also their non-Western counterparts. As known, housing is a building type in which these concepts are easily deductible. Therefore, it has always been the primary subject of interest for modern architecture, and also an important indicator of it. Although the stylistic language of modern architecture is accepted to continue developing until the first quarter of 20th century, the conditions necessitating it were already prominent starting from as early as the 19th century. (Banham, 1960) Concentration of the population in the cities, therefore giving way to housing shortage and other urban problems, and also materializing of urban property, had brought a number of concepts such as new production techniques, mass production and standardization into the architectural agenda. This new environment transformed the cities swiftly, and provided a basis for urban planning studies. Defining modern house in terms of the qualities mentioned above, rather than using stylistic categories, enables a theoretical basis for a new repertoire and fresh interpretations. Because of this, the study will cover the projection of modern housing concepts on the İzmir house.

Mass production and standardization:

Mass production and standardization are two key concepts for modern architecture, particularly in the field of housing. As known, modernization has appeared mainly as an expansion of quantity in terms of production. While this case mainly has to do with the rise in urban population, it should be mentioned that there is also a role of increasing life standards in it. These two factors, namely population growth and changing life standards, gave way to the development of fast, economical techniques and standardization in housing production. In this period, ordinary housing came into the focus of architecture for the first time; and the concepts like mass production, standardization, modular construction also became focal points for the booming construction sector. (Rowe, 1993) Usage of mass constructional elements in housing production both increased speed and set qualitative standards. Those newly arising standards gave rise to dramatically different housing and space types than those before. These widely-agreed housing standards eventually reshaped the distinctions of interior-exteriors, public-private, personal-social and thus created a great break point. This break caused a very basic trauma for the individual, while at the same time providing a critical basis for individuality. Another critical result of those standards in question was breaking off the house as an object apart from the context – both historically and physically. (Korkmaz, 2001) Variations of modern housing became the most prominent and common element of industrializing Western cities, most importantly of industrial capitals such as London and Paris. (Marcus, 1999)

In 19th century, just like its Western counterparts, Izmir had a housing boom.

This brought attention to mass production and standardization for İzmir's construction sector in the same way as in the West. The new construction materials used for cutting costs and increasing speed were partly imported, and partly produced in mass by local factories and workshops. As mentioned previously, the primary imported mass produced construction materials consisted of bricks, tiles and iron floor beams Materials and elements manufactured and sold by local producers were most importantly cumba, cast iron corbel, iron window shutters and entrance doors, floor tiles, doorknobs.

In this period, many iron factories and foundries were founded in İzmir. These were mostly opened up after the railroad between İzmir and Aydın began to operate, and manufactured I beams, nails, wires, cast iron construction elements. (Martal, 1999) In addition, while it is not certain, typical stone sets consisting of window and door frames, headstone and keystone are thought to be locally produced materials.

Standard and mass produced construction materials used in housing production caused the standardization of these residences. For example, readily available cumba consoles made cumba sizes standard. Likewise, ready-made iron shutters and doors set standards for openings, and also determined facade proportions.

Standardized window or door frames, cornerstone and other facade elements also set the common character of facades. Another construction material that was standardized during this period was floor tiles, which are being made with roughly the same techniques today. These tiles increased in variety of patterns over time, and made great progress in terms of workmanship and manufacturing. Floor tiling was also taken into account as a key input for the sizing of spaces in which it would be used.

Commodification:

Housing was an important item of production in the 19th century. As housing became materialized just like other commodities in the market, therefore it turned into a commercial good that was bought and sold, therefore made a profit or loss upon; it transformed into a tool of investment. Its production, financing, and relations with the industry of construction created a complex web of associations. These associations were of interest for a wide mass, first of all the owners of personal savings, and also various financial and capital groups, local governments, state and non-governmental organizations. (Kirschenmann, 1980)

In the West, the housing demand resulting from industrialization was met either by development of rural fields in order to create new zones of housing, or by increasing the concentration of already-existing urban housing areas. Both situations eventually caused land speculation; which developed over time and became a built-in market mechanism in the formation of urban housing. (Bilgin, 1992) On the other hand, materialization of the house also transformed the meaning attributed to it. This new character that housing adopted starting from the 19th century gave way to a very crucial problem concerning the user and the house; namely the issue of ownership. All of these created the basis of the main problems concerning modern urban societies, which are persisting even today.

Materialization is a common theme for housing areas both in the West and in İzmir. As we know, in the traditional Ottoman setting, the sultan was the owner of all urban land apart from some special conditions, and usage rights passed on from father to son. (Erdost,1984)

Private property coming into question corresponds to the later years of Tanzimat Proclamation. As a privileged city of Ottoman Empire in terms of private property, İzmir's residents, both Ottoman citizens and foreigners, gained right to land ownership before Tanzimat. The first known large-scale speculative land production arose naturally following this. The most important of these investments took place in Punta, which was considered a critical potential development zone of the city. As mentioned previously, these speculative tendencies appeared after the railway construction had been decided for. Although not known it was initiated by which individuals or groups, judging from insurance maps it is understood that this way firstly planned between 1837 and 1856. But while these land plots had been produced at an early phase, they could not have been inhabited up until the last quarter of the 19th century. (Bilsel, 2000) Another important speculative action in this field were the housing plots produced by the French company that undertook the construction of the docklands, which were upon the filling acquired from the sea. (Frangakis, 1993) Similarly, the company in charge of the tram line produced and sold new building plots throughout the new avenue opened up around the neighborhood of Goztepe (Bilsel, 2000)

On the other hand, various developmental executions were being implemented starting from a rather early stage, thanks to the financial support from the local government. (Serçe, 1998) These initial applications were nearly synchronically with European cities, and consisted predominantly of housing areas. For example, the first planned housing area was in the space affected from the big fire of 1845 in Basmane neighborhood, intended as a working-class housing zone. This area, which had a gridiron plan, complied with recent development rules and standards set by the central government. Considered one of the first large-scale urban development projects of the empire, this project was planned out in an adjacent row house order, and consisted of small housing plots aimed at low-income groups. (Yücel, 1996) Additionally, we could mention other housing projects carried out or initiated by the state. One such example would be the housing area created in Mecidiye neighborhood in the West of the city, at the end of the century for the incoming immigrants. (Bilsel, 1996)

As a result, many housing plots were produced, complete with infrastructure. Created by both private capital and central or local governments, these plots were quickly settled by the owners or those who buy it from them. This way, a housing market was created, albeit not being as active as its counterparts in the West.

Prevalence and Destructivity:

One reason that most of the building stock of European centrums belongs to the 19th century is the destructive effect of this period's houses in the face of the city. While housing has constituted a dominant part of the building stock all throughout the history, its destructivity came up for the first time in this era. Previously built residences were demolished and replaced by high-density apartment blocks or row houses, which mainly resulted from speculative expectations. (Rossi, 1985) In this period, another reason for the replacement of building stock was the changing structure of both family and individual, their daily needs, and increasing life standards. Likewise, migration towards cities and the resulting population growth required the building stock's regeneration. Due to these three key causes, housing patterns in European city centers was partly renewed, and housing areas shown a major development towards the boundary. This prevalent and destructive character of the modern housing proposed a comprehensive answer to the sheltering problems in cities.

Just like its Western counterparts, İzmir house constituted a homogenous urban pattern. Nevertheless, it did not originate from the exact same reasons as in the West. For example, the developed practice of land speculation in the West applied only to highly limited areas in İzmir. Because of this, it would not be a correct approach to consider land speculation as a key factor in the swift transformation of the housing stock. In the West, urban population growth was another key reason in this change. İzmir also had a population boom and a big housing need arose. However, this fast increase in population did not originate from industrialization and the process of urbanization attached to it. As we know, İzmir had become a key harbor in the thriving global trade. In this period, foreign trade volume had increased and a migration towards the city had thus began. (Atay, 1979) Therefore, the main reason of population growth in İzmir were the Levantine and non-Muslim merchants who migrated to the city for commercial reasons, along with refugees. Paired with the houses destroyed in earthquakes and fires, the housing stock needed to be renewed almost completely. Therefore, while forming new housing zones on one hand, old neighborhoods were renovated according to the new urban housing typology.

Reflexivity and the Break from Tradition

Reflexivity means explaining sociological phenomena in terms of causation, and reproducing cultural practice this way. (Giddens, 1990) We witness this feature in modern societies, which is a key viewpoint distinguishing them from traditional societies. These societies, in which material and cultural production was carried out through a critical and causal assessment -rather than the interpretation of tradition-, the traditional has no actual connection with today. "Rational traditions persist, whereas others vanish." Apart from sociological practices, this rule also applies to constructional processes, which is an area of cultural production.

Leaving aside the utmost inertia of the tradition in order to perfect constructional techniques is only a way of coordinating the processes of "approval" and "rationalization". Simple innovations carried out in ordinary constructions quickly gave way to major revolutionary inventions. Rather modest but quite useful sorts of this approach could be witnessed both in the West and in the outside. In this situation, what matters is whether they were produced through rational thought rather than with the guidance of tradition. This important anchor point is what allows us to define the 19th century European house as modern even if it does not fit within its formal categories. On the other hand, it helps us to distinguish alternative modernity.

The booming construction sector in the West, which boomed from the beginning of 19th century, developed many of its materials and techniques through inspiration from traditional methods. Traditional construction materials and methods, which constituted a critical starting point for housing production, were adapted for mass production by using a reflexive approach. Some examples from 19th century to the adapted traditional methods would be the perfecting of stone usage, industrialized brick and wood manufactory, switching to iron I beams instead of wood for ordinary edifices, and usage of brick as a filler. Likewise, in the field of housing, it is known that structural frames were a variety of wood carcass constructional methods developed with new and cheap materials. (Benevelo, 1981)

It is possible to mention the effects of reflexivity on 19th century İzmir house. Perhaps the most important indicator of reflexivity in housing production is the approaches taken at existing constructional traditions. We know that 19th century İzmir house looked up to some customs of construction, just like its Western counterparts. However, we also know that some traditional methods were improved, some were abandoned, and some others were carried out without modification. (Ülker, 1994) For example, the structural system used was a hybrid of the traditional wooden frame system, which was easily effected from fire, and the traditional masonry system, which was weak in the case

of and earthquake. This hybrid system evolved as a synthesis of traditional Western Anatolian construction methods. (Arel, 2002) The new system consisted of a rubble filling between the wooden frames, and provided a substantial solution to both fires and earthquakes. The traditional Ottoman housing system of "baghdadi" was preserved, but the city's characteristic masonry systems were abandoned altogether due to financial and earthquake resistance concerns. Such examples demonstrate clearly that the 19th century İzmir house demonstrates a reflexive approach towards the tradition, just like the Western equivalents. The local dimension of this common approach gives it the attribute of "alternative modernity", which points out to a fresh quality worth studying.

3. CONCLUSION:
19th century İzmir house was produced as a result İzmir's integration into the modern world as a cosmopolitan city. İzmir's housing culture is neither a carbon copies of Western examples, nor a seamless continuation of traditional housing. Modern housing culture borrowed from the West was reproduced according to İzmir's own housing culture, existing material repertoire, workmanship and production knowledge. Therefore, it brings together both traditional and modern elements. It is a housing style synchronically to the West, which proposes new solutions to arising problems rather than copying it one-to-one. Because of this, it is a prolific hybrid in the way Bhabha defines; meeting the housing demand of all ethic and economic groups in every neighborhood of the city, therefore creating an expressive; equalizing and integrating environment. Its power comes from its potential for solving the city's problems. These houses created brand new settings of freedom and cooperation; in which brand new identities and information was produced through the interplay of different origins, ethnicities and cultural practices that came together in them.

Our literature of modern architecture resides on two main axes; namely, a reading of modern architecture in terms of power and politics, and an adaptation of architectural production into the typical stylistic categories of Western architectural history. This situation largely originates from the belief that modernity has no real material and sociological basis in this part of the World. (Bozdoğan, 2002) However, a key point that is being ignored is that there could be alternative channels through which modernization can enter a country. One of these channels came into being in İzmir of the 19th century. Izmir house we discussed in this article matured by itself, outside the scope of official or political channels of modernization. This style of housing arose from vastly different circumstances from the initial examples modern architectures of the mid-19th century in İstanbul or the first quarter of the 20th century in Ankara, and thus it was never defined as modern.

Treated here as a different form of modernism under local influences; 19th century İzmir house gives us insights into the issue of "alternative modernisms". This phenomenon should be acknowledged as an effort of a non-Western culture to adopt and transform modern architectural concepts, form and techniques; and at the same time it points out the adaptability and informational potential of the non-Western societies. Beyond that, the analyzation of such architectural genres coming into existence under different circumstances and in different parts of the world would enable us to historically locate and put into context modern architecture; and this way, enrich our repertoire.

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DES'ESPARON WHOSE HISTORY

ROBERT GRACE

I have been building our house in the South of France for the past 11 years, last year with my son we completed the roof structure. Soon after we were subjected to a concerted effort from the inhabitants of the village (five adults) to express their displeasure of the scale/height (and the eventual windows not yet designed or fitted) with my project, despite the superstructure having been in place for five years. Their complaints were directed to; myself, my son and the local mayor; and is the genesis of this presentation.

Throughout those "discussions" with my neighbours, the terms used and concepts expressed; evidenced thinking, readings and received wisdoms echoed in my mind. Years ago I started a Phd which was to be a lexicon of urban planning terminology, a comparative study of the same notions in different cultures, languages and cities. I wasn't far into the research before my suspicions were vindicated; this terminology that was often presented to me as a practicing architect by urban planning bureaucrats as objective sacrosanct parameters. Were indeed completely subjective. If my Phd researches were an effort to debunk the premises upon urban planning as practised, is based. This presentation uses the same etymological analytical tool, of the terms my neighbours slung around with fervour and belief in the objectivity of their tropes.

This **Method** is a speculative presentation of disparate thoughts generated by this highly specific and personal experience.

Architecture is intrinsically **political**, through its relation to economic and political frameworks, and specifically to its processes of production but so too is its form. How **Architecture** is formally read relies on tactile qualities, configurations of space and functional relationships as much as in the figurative: although the development as iconic (of aesthetic quality) beyond its utilitarian appreciation, is rarely immediate, its cultural capital can be slow to build up. Any reading of architecture (as for other creative works) is inured in its historical moment and in its social context. Production and formal reception of architecture are its two political dimensions although they are not unrelated; these roles may and often do act independently at differing times and on different constituencies.

Modern, Modernism ---- The Modern Movement emerged over 100 years old, its deepest concern was with the new industrial techniques of production and standardisation, with housing as its social programme in attempting to redefine the socio economic role of architecture. It was the Avant Garde, the brave new, the different and was adopted for its potential to engender social change; anti conservative, eschewing historical reference and sourcing industrial production for its methods and imagery, driven by the multiple technological possibilities. By the 1960's Critics -Architectural and Social, saw the revolutionary zeal of the modern movement as unfulfilled. For these critics Modernism had evolved into a destructive and alienating architecture, that had in the post war period it had become routinised corporate tool, which was more an American (new world) phenomena than European. The veracity of the critique is not the question in that with all that mud some of it stuck, playing into the hands of what became known as **post-modernism**, with even modernism's supporters (from the traditional left), seeing the demise of social engagement as an abdication of the architect's responsibility. They cited the split between architectural form and social institutions as the scourge of capital; that through alienation of the public had destroyed the possibility of fostering urban communities. However, they were still believers and clung to the harbinger of their own critique; functionalism and structural rationalism: as saviour of the masses.

Postmodernism or postmodernist historicism (take the decade 1977 – 87) allowed for the rediscovery of history which had been denied in the hermeticism (supposed) of the abstraction of modernism; with its messianic faith in the new and obliteration of the past; wiping out traditional difference and experience. It railed against the utopianism of modernism and its universal rationalism that limited diversity and complexity. History was seen as more communicative, recognisable and able to provide architecture the means by which to re-establish its public role. This renewal of history generated from egalitarian & populism of the 1960's social critique, however its assumptions being mostly social integration and preservation, not social change.   In differing strains of historicist postmodernism, probably aligned more to the political bents of its practitioners, on one hand sought to re-establish the continuity of culture and to renew a sense of community; via a nostalgia for a 19th Century eclecticism positing a moral equation of style and social function. On the other hand, sought the aesthetic aspect of history (style) co-opting the picturesque of the 18th Century to promise freedom and change to enable the representation of varied experiences, allusions and moods; history was the resource for diverse, varied and complex visions of the present. If stylistic eclecticism meant aesthetic freedom it was by means of technological progress with no one mandated style, it made many styles and the past offered up an infinite field of possibilities. In fact, this

propulsion towards art for art's sake was no different, as Riegl pointed out, to the same cult at the beginning of the Roman Empire. A sort of anything goes appropriation became the norm by the middle of the 80's, just as the heralds of celebrity culture were seen in the emergence of the *starchitects* appearing in the glossies as product endorsers, *style makers* and purveyors of *lifestyle*.

Postmodernism at its best subverted and parodied convention, spotlighting the paradoxes and the fleeting nature of a historic moments. It challenged modernism and its contradictions throwing tradition up against innovation, the figurative versus the abstract and fragmentation countered order. Then it slipped, historical allusion adopted nostalgia, the superficial and simulacra (ironic in its denial of history) before plunging into pure revival and mannerist quotations. The promise of revisiting history was freedom and a chance to recoup lost values, the downside was the realisation that perhaps the present was not any better than what had gone before and acceptance of the arbitrariness of aesthetic and political choices. The possibility of many pasts and many styles had transformed into a single style and a single past. The power of allusion was irresistible it promoted Postmodernism to overwhelming adoption by the market, and had become a historical style on its own.

Post Structuralism the other steam of **Post Modernism** not really a subject in this discussion, could be seen along with its historicist counterpart to reject modernism's social engagement and as a re-emergence of architecture as both a formal and artistic pursuit. Also like its historicist stream it benefitted from the increase in visibility of architecture and its marketable architects.

Contexualism

Not really wanting to beat a drum for **postmodernism (historicist)** I reluctantly capitulate that its greatest legacy was the movement against the homogenising and alienating aspects of modernism's large scale urban renewal. This reassessment led to **Contexualism**, and this is at the heart of the issue of this presentation, it led to the meteoric rise of **preservation.** Alois **Riegl** (writing at the dawn of the 20th C) and more recently Françoise Choay on monumentalisation and museumification heralded the problematic nature of **contextualism** as resistant rather than regenerative, it attempts to maintains a (and this is important) perceived status quo that has rarely transformed community life. **Contextualism**, provided a great support to gentrification and in no small way contributed to the erosion of neighbourhoods and creating a new hegemony of uniformity. To copy what is there negates history itself. It had de-generated into a spent nostalgia.

Edouard François: Collage Urbain , C H AMP I G N Y - S U R -MA R N E - F R A N C E, 2012 *unmediated contextualism*

VILLAGE CONTEXT

My project is one of the few in the village in recent years to have obtained a building permit, the remoteness and general ambivalence masquerading as good neighbourliness has allowed via the attrition of small multiple illegal/unregulated/ uncontrolled additions and transformations to slowly change the visual and aesthetic nature of the village. So when accused of **denaturé** the village by my neighbours they display either very poor memory or selective amnesia. One of the most photographed houses in the village (in tourist publicity) as the epitome of traditional architectural treatment is in fact one that has been completely remodelled and altered in the 1960's especially its form and details, in fact its stuccoed exterior covering up industrialised masonry and not the local stone. Concrete and concrete block remain the material of choice in contemporary "traditional" construction. The 11th century chapel has been coated in an industrialised render and roofed in slate that derives its selection as a material and curved detailing from a regional style some 60kms away, whereas the local tradition is limestone (lauzes). The newly built communal bread oven (four a pain) approximates the edifice that might have been there, it was built using a laudable local scheme by apprentices working with a master mason. It was inaugurated by the local historical association all dressed in traditional (19th C) clothes.

Four au pain, Esparon

2009 circa 1950

Inaugurated 2015

It gives weight to my developing theory that we only like old buildings when they are new. Authenticity clearly in terms of perception, readings and representations is *a m*ovable *feast,* completely subjective. Evidently the village has changed and will continue to change however my neighbours' myopia forces them to see difference as a challenge to their overarching perception of a **homo**genous village of indistinguishable parts when it is a **hetero**genous agglomeration of very different pieces. In an evolving community **contextual mutations** are inevitable; any new project will challenge and change both the **visual habits** and the elements that contextualized the project in the first place. The will to **preservation** flirts with the concept of **homo**geneity where the best they could hope for is a controlled **hetero**geneity. **Hetero**geneity will accommodate difference. **Riegl's** study of historic monuments not only pointed to the conflicting relationship between the legacy of the past and current values. Central to him was time's destructive force and the subsequent mortality of culture itself. Its constant demise highlighted by the resurgence of the new and lapses into the old, leaving a wreckage rather than a museum of achievements. Historicist regurgitations, throw up a past that never was and require the present to bow before what is an empty throne. He claimed all aesthetic values were contingent on history, he recognised that contemporary concerns, the deeply effect our perceptions of the past: over time there is no objective past, only a constantly refracting absence in the memory of the present. (*The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin*, Alois Riegl, translated by Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, Oppositions 25, Monument /Memory Edited by Kurt W. Forster, Fall 1982 for IAUS, Rizzoli New York. Translated from, *Gessammelte Aufsatze*, Alois Riegl, Augburg-Vienna: Dr. Benno Filser, 1928).

Nimby, *not in my backyard We like modern but not here*…… the technological development of insulating glass, allows for increasingly larger panes of glass to be used. The history of architecture could be treated as a history of technological development. For my **neighbours** glass is the ogre, large expanses are for them alien/they read alienation, they read difference, they read lack of respect of their patrimony / heritage, they aspire to historic preservation classification & traditional materials (the haptic) and techniques(artisanale), they deny jealousy, they are suspicious of apparent administrative arbitrariness and of the architect playing the system, they are :- wary of class distinction, full of prejudice, proud of their life style; their view of the future is a restoration of the past, they dream of sustainability, they….respect the status quo, they deny change through attrition, they are unsure of individual rights / sovereignty and what that may bring, they are exorcising frustration and anger. They do not want what is not of that place.

Neighbours

My **neighbours** number four households, permanent residents of the village with one of them living across the small valley. In fact two of these households are shared. There are five adults and two children (teenagers). Further across the local valley a small farm, one of these farmers is the brother of the last/late native of the village, their parents and grandparents are buried in the cemetery. Have little to do with the village other than shoo their cattle across the access roads to terraced pasture to avail them of the overflow from the small spring fed reservoir. In summer the evening air is often filled with the sounds of the ten cowbells of this small herd. These **neighbours** are not from the village nor are they familial remnants of natives (their tenure in the village ranges from 6 to 40 years). They are all **from elsewhere**, all are immigrants and not in rural employ: the high school maths teacher, the retired advertising agency graphic artist whose sideline is honey producer, the publishing company director; (all from Paris) the Physics lecturer (a town 40 kms away) and the public theatrical arts organizer with a recent Phd (central France). Save for the honey maker they all work elsewhere, the village is for them a *dortoir* / dormitory a new world for them, a place where they chose to live, theirs is a modern existence of the ease of choice. A choice not of necessity but for lifestyle / pleasure reasons, the sign of a rich society.
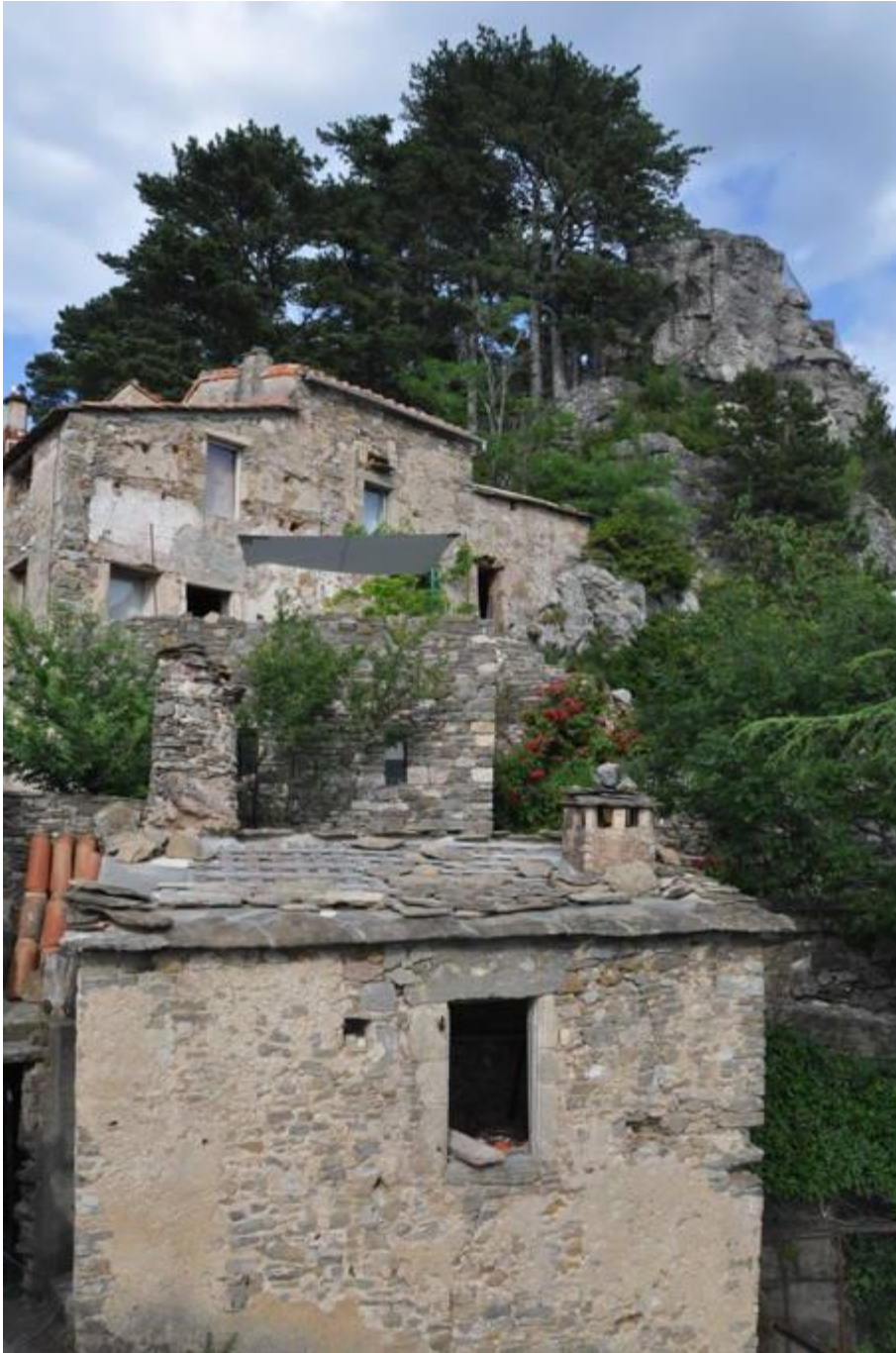
Classification

The village is classified in the national register as a **site pittoresque**, the images shows why, it is thus subject to control by the Architecte de Batiment de France. The locals think this registration relates to the architecture of the village itself, this is not the case. However, there is confusion in the application of the developmental controls this affords the authority. There are no guidelines for the control of building in such a zone, so the control reverts to batiment classée / or preservation zone. This default position is confusing however as an architect, and a Parisienne architecte as well, there is a local inferiority perception that we can get anything through. Further through the vagaries of the

French building permit system what happens inside your walls i.e. Not on the boundary is not controlled, even if can be seen from the outside, as long it is within height limitations.

Case study Esparon
Beyond the fact it is a **new house** not a rehabilitation, within the remaining old walls it is a **palimpsest** built of many of the materials that had existed as **another house** transformed and repurposed. In the traditions of modernism, it is an abstraction; **Formally & Materially** not of that place and of that place at the same time. It is **historicist** in that it clings or reattaches as does its creator to a sense of the avant-garde/ better world/revolutionary/romantic ardour of the modernist dream. This is achieved by developing **new techniques** whilst bastardising interpretations of old ones thus procuring a dissenting architectural message; given financial and resource constraints; via changes in the construction processes & developing a new building type of a radically different scale/scope/amplitude. By clinging to a **new world** view as an outsider it has permitted an anarchistic approach to neighbourly relations. I am not trying to make something **to fit in**, to be polite or deferent in the **context as found**. Resolutely remaining wholly responsible for improving its (the building's) situation by means of, new building type of radically different scale/scope amplitude,
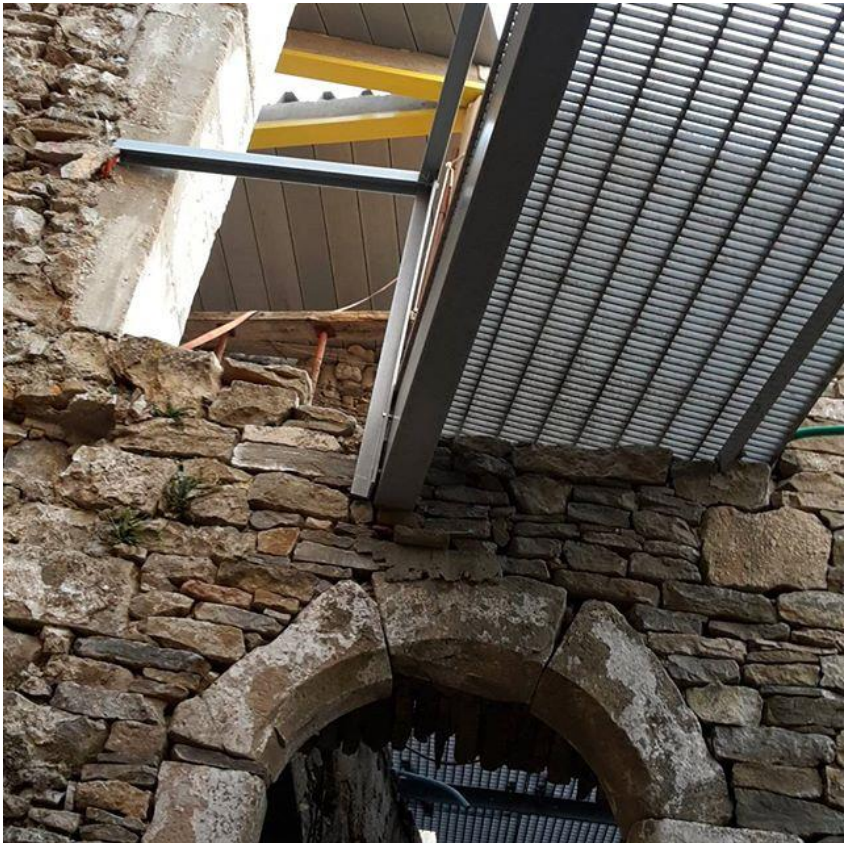
Economically praised for courage by the local mayor. These towns will completely die if it wasn't for these projects…….

Coexistence of difference

Agree to Disagree!

This could describe my life as an architect, in our village it is not like mindedness but a series of divergences that makes up the community. It is abundantly clear that **cultural & political dimensions** of all interpretations and presentations of history are deeply nuanced. The description of the *Village Medieval d'Esparon* in online advertisements for rental of their various houses belies my neighbours' personal aspirations / values and like the dissent expressed towards my project, is circumscribed by what they may see, what they want to see: Where any view of the future is predicated by particular views of the past, of their view of others, of how others perceive them and most importantly their view/s of themselves.
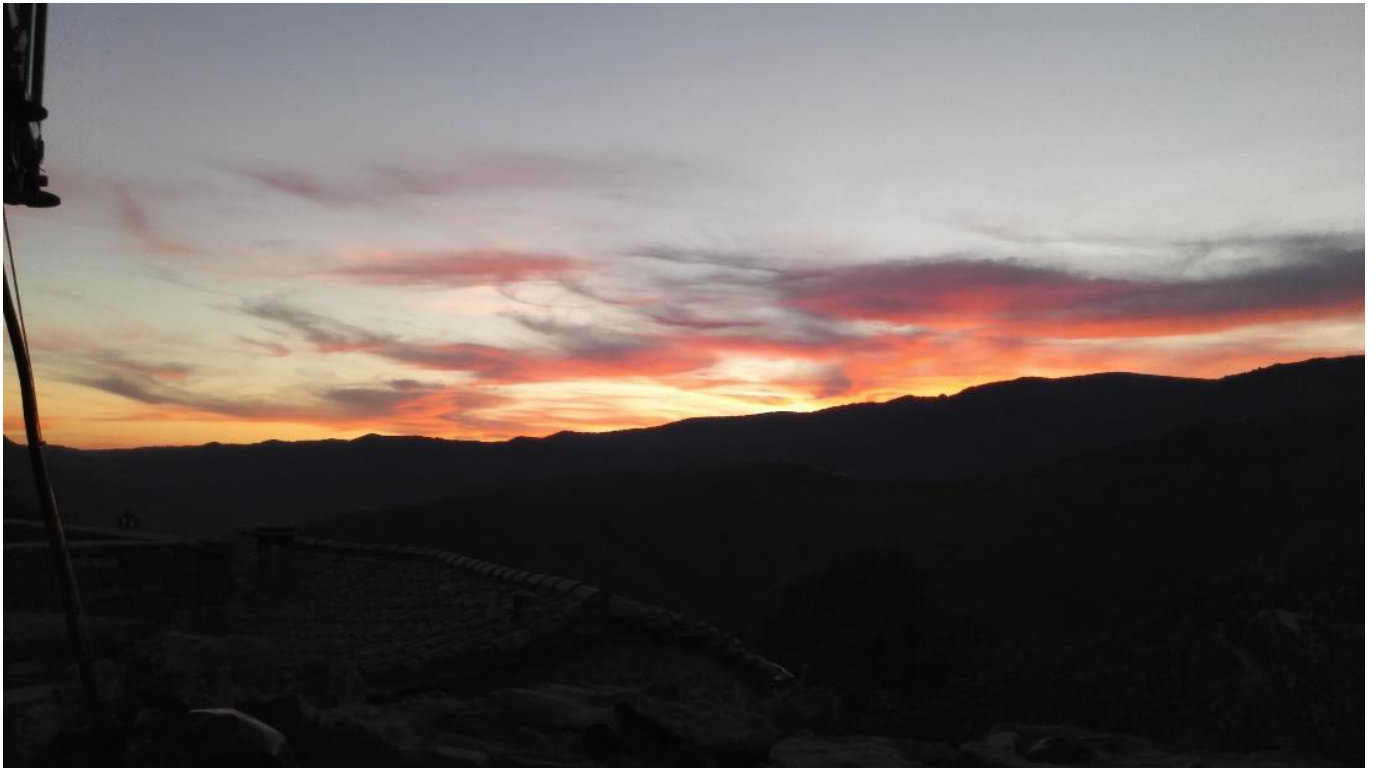
THE ARCHIVE OF THE WORK OF SPANISH ARCHITECT JULIO LAFUENTE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to share the research results obtained through the compilation process of the Archive of Julio Lafuente and the unpublished Catalogue of his work, non-existent to date, undertaken by the author of this paper.

Julio Lafuente was born in Madrid in 1921. Soon after, his family moved to Paris, where he studied Architecture at the *École Nationale de Beaux Arts*. Once graduated, he established his residence in Rome, where he developed most of his broad and valuable architecture, widely recognised and published at the time. The Archive reveals Lafuente's wide-ranging approach to contemporary architectural semiotics and techniques. As he is recently deceased, there have been several tributes in the Royal Academy of Spain in Rome, the Cervantes Institute in Rome and the *Biennale di Venezia*'14, among others.

How should the undertaking of both the archive and catalogue of the work of an architect be faced? What methodology should be followed to feature our findings and contextualize his works, publications and projects from different perspectives: context, critical thinking, practice, role, technique? How to interpret the significance of existing documents, such as drawings, models, plans or photographs, not from a documentary point of view but through the eyes of the architect? This paper will address these and other questions, not without acknowledging that we are facing a research *senza fine*.

Jaques Derridà said in his doctoral dissertation: *"If I clearly saw ahead of time where I was going, I really do not believe that I would take another step to get there"* (Trifonas, 2005, pp. 6). I can't avoid remembering his words upon checking —not without bewilderment— that the first impression I had of Lafuente's work is as similar as the impression I have now after years of research. Years in which, as new discoveries arose, I could see how the conclusions pushed me —even on occasions facing resistance— back to the starting point.

The origin of this research is found in a first thesis topic about rhythm, self-similar structures and the general systems theory, registered in 2007 under the title *"In Praise of Repetition"*. While searching for works about Japanese metabolism and *mat building* I had my first contact with the work of Julio Lafuente.

Discovering an image of the hotel in the Maltese rock of Gozo (1967), in an exhibition at the Royal Spanish Academy in Rome, completely changed the focus of the investigation: on the one hand, the hotel in Gozo was a fine example of repetitive spatial structure; on the other hand, a new interest arose to investigate the role and works of Julio Lafuente, both of which were practically unknown. (Fig. 1)

Fig. 1. Maltese rock Hotel (Gozo, 1967). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

Contact with his daughter, Clara Lafuente, responsible for Studio Lafuente, allowed me to enter his studio and to remain in Rome for long periods of time. The amount of works developed by Julio Lafuente and the existing documentation was enormous. And, despite a lack of coherence in certain plans which could produce founded criticisms, I devoted myself to visit his works and these visits provided me with a very different first-hand experience. By then, it was clear that Lafuente's sensitivity followed an unintellectual and non-academic path. Therefore, I would have to dispel certain prejudices to focus the criticism and to approach his work.

The discovery of the Tor di Valle hippodrome (1959), built in the outskirts of Rome and presently under threat of demolition, ended up determining this research. (Fig. 2) Regarding the hotel in the Maltese rock of Gozo there was not much information available in the studio, as it was an un-built project; the documentation of the Tor di Valle hippodrome, on the other hand, was extensive.

Fig. 2. Tor di Valle Hippodrome (Rome, 1959). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

Both projects represent the beginning of this research and establish a new reason for doubt. Which one to choose? At this point it was possible to undertake research about only one of the projects, since there was nothing written in depth thus far. However, the prolific work by Lafuente, with its numerous ups and downs, had some extraordinary achievements that inspired its discovery. The opportunity to participate in the organization of the Archive, declared of historic and artistic interest by the Italian Ministry of Culture in 2003 and which had yet to be undertaken, emphasized this drive. Moreover, both projects represented opposite ends of a common framework in architecture in the sixties: a range from idealization to construction, consolidated as a topic after studying other works of his repertoire.

The research begins with **the Catalogue**. The initial years were dedicated to completing a broad evaluation, documentation and treatment of more than six thousand original documents. With so much information available, the idea of organizing the Archive and making an as yet non-existent catalogue of his work that could allow future consultations became, more than a wish, a necessity.

The Catalogue comprises the complete works of Julio Lafuente, from his first projects in 1946 until his last in 2008, in a synoptic index that includes 360 projects, of which almost 200 have been built, including architecture, urban design, scenography and furniture.

This includes the individual description of more than one hundred works. These works have been chosen for their quality and understanding of constructive practices —conceptual or semiotic— more suited to their era. In addition, other factors have been taken into consideration, such as their dissemination in specific publications and exhibitions, or the existence of awards.

The individual description of each project includes nine sections: name, location, date, type of work, use, author and collaborators, state of conservation, publications and documentation available in the Archive.

Geographic location was determined by visiting the specific sites for most of the Italian projects and by means of digital cartography tools via satellite for the rest of the constructed work. This has determined the exact location in 97% of the cases.

The chronological tracking was based on the dates initially estimated in the studio. Furthermore, various contemporary publications, the testimony of previous collaborators and the contextualization of his work have contributed to determine the exact date.

Among all of Lafuente's works, approximately 4% are preliminary studies, 40% are projects at different levels of development, and more than half are constructed works.

The uses of his buildings are various, in coherence with the Italian context, in which, after years of war, starts to develop modern society and the modern city, and there is much to be done. In this context, more than one hundred of his works are housing projects —approximately one third of his work—. The rest of his work includes various uses such as administrative, industrial, commercial, cultural, or landscaping and urban design, among others.

Use	Number of projects	% Of the whole	Use	Number of projects	% Of the whole
Administrative	27	7,5	Industrial	5	1,4
Commercial centres	34	9,4	Furniture	12	3,3
Set design	2	0,5	Housing		
Various uses:			**Collective**	50	14
Cultural centres	8	2,2	Family houses	47	13
Sports centres	5	1,4	Hotels	14	3,8
Educational centres	2	0,5	**Urbanism:**		
Hospitals	4	1,1	Urban	32	9
Transport	15	4,2	Landscaping	7	2
Religious facilities	20	5,6	Monuments	42	11,5
Other uses	3	0,9	Fountains	31	8,7

Table of uses of the overall work developed by Julio Lafuente:

(*) 2 airports | 2 airport facilities | 2 air stations | 2 seaports | 1 railway station | 2 intermodal transportation hubs | 3 parking facilities | 1 petrol station.

Most of Lafuente's works maintain their original use, except for the SIAE building (1956), today converted in classrooms for the *Università della Sapienza* School of Architecture; the Hippodrome, recently abandoned and at risk of being demolished; the Ferrania Building (1959), originally of an industrial use, today commercial; and the Ostiense Air Terminal (1990), recently transformed into a shopping centre (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. From left to right: SIAE building (Rome, 1956), Julio Lafuente in collaboration with Monaco & Luccichenti; Tor di Valle Hippodrome (Rome, 1959), Ferrania Building (Rome, 1959) and the Ostiense Air Terminal (Rome, 1990). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

Regarding his collaborators, throughout his professional career Lafuente always worked in collaboration with architects, engineers and artists: mainly but not limited to, the architects Monaco & Luccichenti during the first years, and the engineers Rebecchini and Benedetti later on. These collaborations are partly due to Lafuente's inability to legally sign his projects in Italy. His role is to develop the projects from their first ideas until their execution. Even during the years in which he collaborates with the Monaco & Luccichenti's office, where his role as designer takes precedence over other tasks, which tend to fall on his collaborators.

Most of his works are found in a regular or well-conserved state, except for a few exceptions. The catalogue includes graphic documentation of the aforementioned buildings both in their original and their current state of conservation. Finally, the individual description of each project incorporates a complete list of related published papers and specifies the documentation available in the Archive.

The introduction to the catalogue describes in detail the procedure followed in its elaboration, and specifies the results of research in every one of the aforementioned sections.

The core argument of this research emerged as a consequence of the cataloguing.

Born in Madrid in 1921, Julio Lafuente studies architecture in Paris, and upon finishing his studies he moves to Rome on a motorcycle. He describes his journey, years later, with detailed memories of the bareness of Spain in that period, his stops along the way to see modern architecture and his arrival in Rome through *via* Aurelia, directly to the Pantheon, where, while lying on the floor, he makes the decision to stay.

In Rome, Lafuente develops most of his work, but not only in Rome. His **biography** is that of a man of action: a man who aims to be in the right place at the right time. Travelling 2000 km on a bicycle to flee from the Nazis, moving to Italy at the time of its reconstruction and, later, to Saudi Arabia to escape from the European crisis of the 1970's, are examples of that.

His desire to build —and the possibilities that the context offers to achieve this— explains why his work is so extensive, but also the absence of ideological prejudices and, in a certain way, his lack of shyness to extract ideas from the surrounding architecture: there is so much to be built that invention, by itself, is not enough and requires, at times, to turn to previously attempted solutions; and at others, to turn to the contemporary repertoire.

On the other hand, maintaining the pace of up to twelve works a year, some of large dimensions, makes it difficult to guarantee an optimal level of quality in all of them. This explains the enormous qualitative difference between one work and another.

Some of his projects, designed and built with extraordinary ingenuity despite the workload, have been awarded and widely published in international journals, mainly between the fifties and the eighties. Therefore, we find ourselves before a dissemination and recognition of his work in the recent past that hugely contrasts with the current lack of knowledge of it. A status this research intends to revert. This fact allows us to suspect that, just as Julio Lafuente,

there must be an undetermined but considerable number of architects far from the media coverage whose unknown work, without being in the front line, defines the character our cities.

The research is framed **from 1950 to 1980**, his most prosperous years. After 1980, Lafuente's work leans towards purely formalistic postmodernism, which lacks the quality of his previous work and has been excluded from this study.

Previous to my first visit to Lafuente's office, I study the main published texts about his work. All of them refer to the idea of invention, and to the out-style nature of his architecture. However, the results of my research show a very different reality. His work displays multiple references to the architecture of Le Corbusier, Aalto, Tange, Stirling, Lasdum, Candela, Nervi, Ridolfi and Terragni, amongst others. A work that, even without knowing its name, date or location, can hardly deny its origins: Italy, from 1950 to 1980. In other words, a work unequivocally linked to **its context**.

Italy, the fifties. A context of crisis and uncertainty, but also of great challenges and renewals at all levels. This is the precise moment in which Julio Lafuente arrives in Rome. A key and turbulent period for development of architectural theories and practice, used from the very first moment by Lafuente to grow professionally.

Understanding the extraordinary complexity of the Italian context in that period, in which Lafuente is immersed, is a key part of the research. In this regard, it is difficult to draw a clear line between the architecture of the fifties and the eighties, since there is no linear evolution. However, the changes in contemporaneous thought strongly influence the work of Lafuente, always aware of the surrounding architecture. Accordingly, his early works, made in collaboration with Monaco & Luccichenti between 1952 and 1957, are much closer to the Modern Movement semiotics than the ones he made later on, which follow the new trends in architecture. In particular, those related to the *organic architecture* inspired by Zevi, and to the *new brutalism* imported from England.

The early works of Lafuente, done with Monaco & Luccichenti, show a visible tendency to go off the canon. They are a free interpretation of the modern principles, with their own identity (Fig. 4). In these projects, rationalism is used beyond the style only as a tool. With the exception of some elements, these early works are inspired more by the architecture of Le Corbusier —who is almost an idol to Lafuente during his school years, in Paris—than by the preceding Italian rationalism.

Fig. 4. From left to right: twin houses (Sta. Marinella, 1953), and housing building in *via* Aurelia Antica (Rome, 1953). Julio Lafuente in collaboration with Monaco & Luccichenti. Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

Lafuente's transition towards organic architecture, starting in 1957, can be seen as a breaking point from his early work. A sort of *denying the master*, both in the sense of emancipating himself from his academic background as well as from the office in which he began his professional career. The organic architecture driven by Zevi is an attempt to break out of the vicious cycle between the *old avant-garde* —mainly embodied by Le Corbusier— and the *new rear-guard* of Italian architecture, which includes all the *"neo"* styles of that period.

This frenzy for organic architecture comes as a result of a new humanism that emerges in Italy with awe-inspiring force after the war, considering the human being as the focal point. Architecture *"modelled* —as Zevi explains— *according to the spiritual, psychological and material needs of man"* (Zevi, 1945, pp.2). In its formulations, Lafuente finds his way: the concrete experience versus any deductive approach, the meaning of the place, the volumetric

fragmentation, the inclusion of traditional techniques and the sensory experience, are some of the qualities of the organic repertoire that define the work of Lafuente thereafter; and, most specially, his villas (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. From left to right: villa Lancellotti (Palo Laziale, 1963), villa Donoratico (Tuscany, 1971), and villa Yoko Nagae (Olgiata, 1978). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

Furthermore, his forays in *new brutalism*, in the sixties and seventies, are framed in a collaborative setting with architects and engineers, to create buildings until then hardly available. The logic of these works takes the technical challenge as a key concept (Fig. 6). This leads to structural solutions of huge dimensions —although of a light appearance—, which incorporate the issue of mobility and approach the architecture to the nature of the road infrastructures. *"The science of the construction* —Zevi then pointed out— *communicates an existential feeling that until now had been ignored: not only the audacity and the risk, rather also the insecurity and the instability."* (Zevi, 1980, pp. 384). These works of Lafuente denote an undeniable aspiration to prefabrication and assembly. But in those years, the resources available in Italy —and the prejudices of both clients and builders— are not, in the least, those of England. Therefore, the audacity and challenge of these works fall back almost exclusively on the aspirations of the architect, who finds himself obliged to make architecture of the future in an undesirably artisanal way.
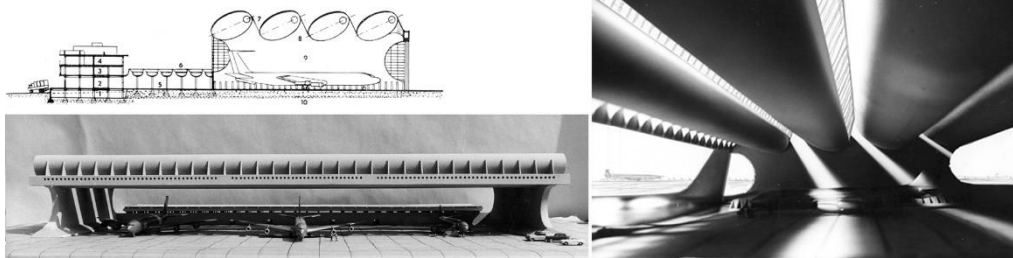

Fig. 6. Hangar Olympic Airways (Athens, 1965). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

This anachronism implies that most of the Italian projects added to the *new brutalism*, including those of Lafuente, transmit a certain type of frustration, a sort of fake —*finto*— character, so that the aspirations for a technological avant-garde are, more than a reality, a wish.

Two works have been selected for an in-depth study: the hotel in the Maltese rock of Gozo (1967) and the hippodrome of Tor di Valle (1959) in Rome.

These are not the most representative examples of Lafuente's work. Most of his broad architectural work is related to housing projects, either villas or various typologies of collective housing, usually built in the outskirts of Rome. However, these two selected projects are unique cases in which Lafuente reaches the highest levels of coherence, significance and architectural quality. Furthermore, both projects embody some of the aspects of architecture to which Julio Lafuente pays more attention: the logic of construction and the experience of the place.

Fig. 7. Main stand of the Tor di Valle hippodrome (Rome, 1959). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

(Fig. 7) In the Tor di Valle hippodrome the complex structural and construction systems are not consequences, but rather the key concepts of its design. The thin concrete shell of the roof and the spatial structure of the stands constitute a modern and radical solution, which far from leaning on stylish acrobatics, is mainly based on an economic and constructive rationale. Its first references lead to the Spanish hippodrome of La Zarzuela, made by Eduardo Torroja; to other contemporary projects, such as the umbrellas built by Felix Candela in Mexico and USA, or the structures designed by Marcel Breuer, Pier Luigi Nervi and Gio Ponti; and to latter works developed by Spanish architects Fernando Higueras, Antonio Miró and Ricardo Urgoiti. The Tor di Valle hippodrome adds one more step to the evolution of this type of structures, which is a significant increase in its size.

The hippodrome faces a challenge in design, planning and construction that makes it an exemplary reference of its era. Nevertheless, the enclosure of the stands does not succeed, in spite of the beauty and lightness of its glass curtain. The *open structure* nature of the stands and the weakness of its enclosure are the most prevalent contradictions of the project, which have unfortunately contributed to its current demise. In spite of this, the structure of the Tor di Valle hippodrome is preserved intact, and its expressive power is today just as radical as it once was (Pastor, 2016).

The hotel in the Maltese rock of Gozo (1967) is a non-built project whose essence is its relationship with nature. Its precedents date back to the primitive human settlements in the natural caves, and to rupestrian landscape construction. The settlement of Petra, in Jordan, the Ajanta caves in India, or the Monte Athos monasteries in Greece, are some of the proto-historic causes mentioned in the published articles about the Maltese hotel at the end of the sixties. Perhaps because of this timelessness, the image of the hotel in Gozo inspires this feeling of immanence. Amongst the most recent references are Le Corbusier's studio *Roq et Rob* and the projects for the Famara cliffs in Lanzarote, Spain, made by Fernando Higueras. In all of them can be distinguished a fascination for radical landscapes and a compromise with a vertical component of the architecture that faces the precipice as a challenge.

Fig. 8. Detail, model of the Maltese rock Hotel (Gozo, 1967). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

(Fig. 8) The hotel in Gozo modifies the natural scene through a process similar to that applied for a *land art* intervention*.* Therefore, various intrinsic qualities of the landscaping construction have been connected with contemporary *land art* projects, such as those of Richard Long —who we mentioned before— Michelle Stuart or, more recently, Nicolas Feldmeyer. Furthermore, the utopic nature of the hotel in rock and its status as a non-built project requires one to look at several mega-structures from the Japanese metabolism, such as *Clusters in the Air* or *Dwelling City*. Or even at the formulations proposed by Archizoom or Superstudio, two Italian groups towards which Lafuente turns his attention throughout his career. Unlike the aforementioned examples, designed more for provocative or cathartic purposes than for being constructed, the hotel in the Maltese rock of Gozo (1967) shows aspirations to be built. Proof of this is that both its structure and construction system, although in an initial stage, have been taken into account. Therefore, the utopian nature of the hotel in Gozo —understood as an improbable or unattainable proposal at the time it was conceived—, depends more on it being on the fringe of what is socially acceptable than on what is physically possible. The exceptional relationship between the architecture of the hotel and its site is not a new idea, as seen throughout history with other similar in-rock settlements. What is unique about this project is the modern language in which the new landscape is built. And this is certainly one of the factors that prevent this radical project from being accepted by the local Government, an obstacle that fortunately its historical predecessors did not have to face (Pastor, 2016, pp. 135-151).

Finally, both projects —the hippodrome of Tor di Valle and hotel in the Maltese rock of Gozo— show similar traits of the architecture of their time: they both have large-span structures, intended to be as light as possible, organized by repetitive modular patterns, with lightweight external walls and an explicit awareness of climate control, which make them ideal examples to represent modernity, a tendency most frequently seen in the work of Lafuente.

Apart from these core examples, the research faces a **transversal analysis** of the most relevant characteristics of Lafuente's work, and focuses on some particular cases that allow considering a part as the whole. Six sections that show an explicitly particular approach but tacitly seek their integration into the overall work of Lafuente.

His work shows his exceptional ability to connect the project and the place. One of its finest examples can be seen in Monte Argentario (1977) (Fig. 9) where the union of both artificial and natural elements, as well as the relationship between them, is of extraordinary sensibility and radicalness. The condition of the natural environment underlies in the villa in such a way that the habitable space is solved —like in nature— by multiple, uncertain and changing relationships that come about with undefined limits. The elapsing of time while moving from one place to another affects the spatial experience; and vice versa, the geometry and location of the house is in line with the movement.
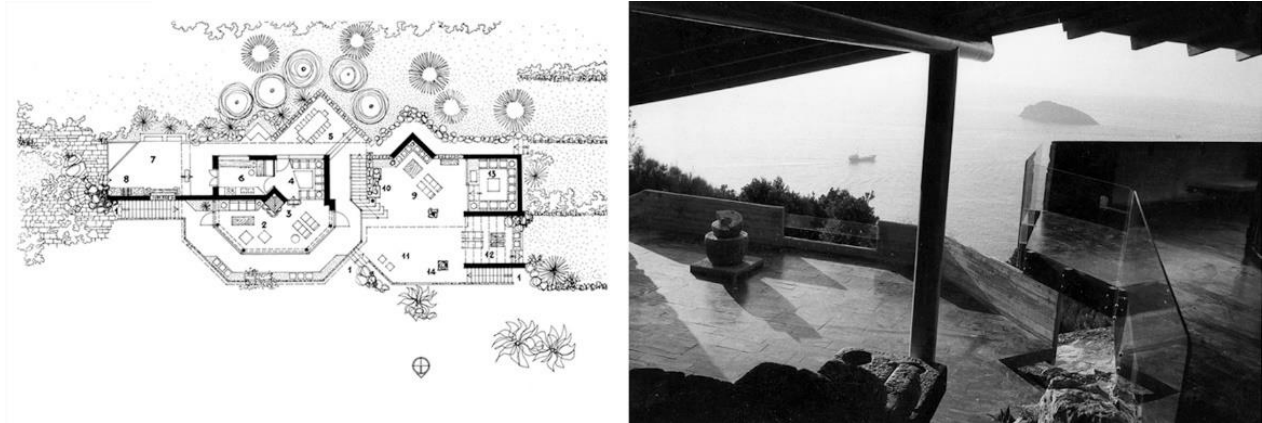
Fig. 9. Villa in Monte Argentario (Tuscany, 1977). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

The volumetric nature is another feature that defines Lafuente's work. Even his first projects already show a tendency to *eliminate the box* and to create discontinuous enclosures, in a free interpretation of the modern repertoire. Since the end of the fifties, the volumetric enclosures become more and more significant (Fig. 10). Flat enclosures gain depth and discontinuity. They become self-supporting façades, which join the interior and the exterior spaces, and control lighting and ventilation.

Fig. 10. From left to right: housing building in via Salaria (Rome, 1953), Julio Lafuente in collaboration with Monaco & Luccichenti; and two images of the *Collegio Fratelli Cristiani d'Irlanda* (Rome, 1971). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

The structure is another common testing ground in his projects, always aware of both the aesthetic quality and the constructive rationale. (Fig. 11) Throughout his career, Lafuente shows his predilection for the inverted pyramid, usually supported by a lineal system, which significantly reduces the required material and give the building a light, modern feel.
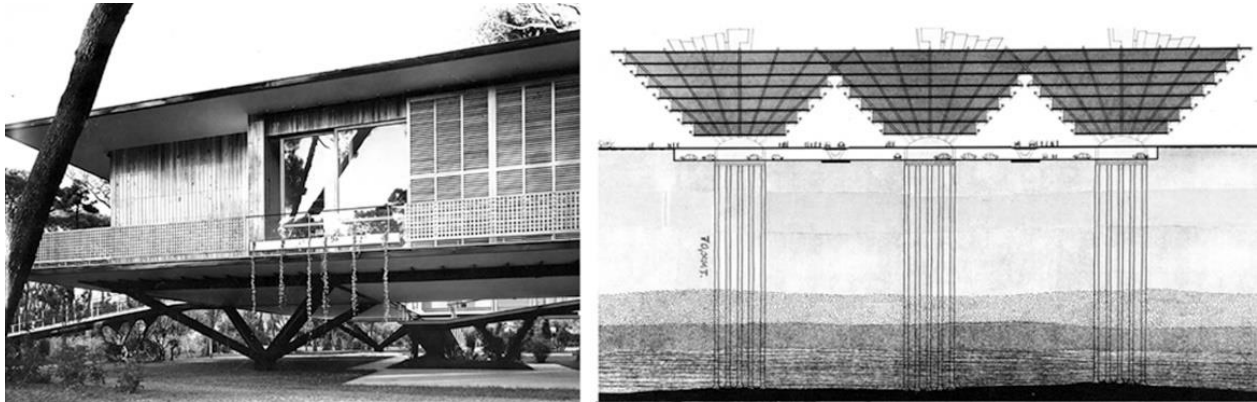
Fig. 11. From left to right: villa del Gombo (San Rossore, 1957), Julio Lafuente in collaboration with Monaco & Luccichenti. Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome; and Esso Headquarters (Rome, 1980). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

One of the most relevant features in Lafuente's work is to push the construction details to their boundaries by reinforcing their plastic and expressive meaning. The attention devoted to construction details is one of his prime resources to supplement the limited budgets with which he usually works, and to give a certain dignity to his architecture. Nevertheless, being so virtuous does not always help his work, which in certain occasions displays an overly detailed rhetoric that impairs the coherence of the project as a whole.

The speculation on geometry is another common trait in his work. The cottage at Capocotta (1964) (Fig. 12) is one of its finest examples, in spite of its small size, simple materials and basic construction system. The interior space is a geometrical game —typical of the utopian rationalism— that encourages inward growth within the roof's boundaries. The main section is resolved as a *gnomon*: a figure that, added to the original shape, creates a new one similar to the original. This is a simple and smart project that stands out thanks to its sensible use of the space and its playful terraced solution.

Fig. 12. Cottage at Capocotta (Rome, 1964). Julio Lafuente Archive, Rome.

Finally, Lafuente's collaboration with artists is very frequent during the first two decades of his career. Except for the project in Auschwitz (Zevi, 1959, pp. 439-441), most of his projects include artistic works subordinated to architecture. It is a type of *informal* art, more decorative than conceptual, which is close to architecture thanks to the highlighting of textures and materials. Therefore, the romance between art and architecture in Italy in the fifties and sixties stems from an unbalanced relationship where the more formal paintings and sculptures give in to the powerful internal laws of architecture.

Postscript

The reference to the capacity for invention of Julio Lafuente throughout the published texts, undertakes to make a brief reflection on the topic. However, forming an assessment is not so simple, acknowledging that, as an author it is difficult to avoid all *clichés* of the time, and as a critic it is difficult to know if the origin of a common solution in various contemporary projects comes from a conscious choice or from a tacit memory.

In the strictly philosophical acceptance of the word, a slight difference in the procedure could provide something new. In such a case, one can confirm that almost all of the works of Lafuente are distinguished by a will to innovate within the permitted boundaries of the context. Nevertheless, beyond its literal meaning, and in spite of the unquestionable weight that invention has in all creative actions —and therefore in the architectural project—, in the work of Julio Lafuente, the influence of the context prevails over the idea of invention.

To end, I would like to go back to the beginning.

This research is not about a finished object, but something alive and not yet finished. Almost every week new information and drawings appear. And even though until today we find no evidence that contradicts the results shown here, it is evident that this research I am presenting to you is imperfect in the best sense of the word. That is, a research unfinished and subject to evolution.

A reseach *senza fine*...

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STYLE TURNED INTO LIFESTYLE, 1945-1965: U.S. ARCHITECTURE AND THE REVOLVING HISTORY

PHOEBUS PANIGYRAKIS

ABSTRACT

1952's special issue of Architectural Record, displaying an array of "82 distinctive houses" pictured the "revolution" that was happening in post-war American house design. It consists a percussive example of the growing number of forms that contemporary architecture brings to life, in a way of a stylistic arms-race, perpetually re-defining our domestic environment. The purpose of this research is to examine the concept of the architectural style as an integral part of the more contemporary notion of lifestyle. Main argument is that the culture of abundance that emerged in post-war U.S.A positioned architecture in a consumer-led market, where, the cultivation of individual rather that national, or ideological identity became the prime motive of the discipline.

Although modern rhetoric had denounced style as an operative motive, the import of modern architecture as "the International Style" in the U.S. had as a result a wild formalistic approach that propelled the culture of "Good Life Modernism" during the late 1940's and throughout the 1950's. The new domestic landscape suggested a new kind of lifestyle, where art and life combined together to organize the activities of the domestic leisure class. In addition, various institutions instrumentalized the image of architecture for this cause. Journals, museums, developers and architectural firms developed strategies to contribute and benefit from the ongoing cultural change.

While the concept of style has provided the self-evident analytical tool for historical categorization, it's transition in the post-war and contemporary era as a quotidian blend of art brought into daily life as a commodity in a direct cycle of pleasure and consummation has rendered the ever increasing recycle of historical forms. It is of no wonder that mid-century modern styles are an ever-returning form in the stylistic lifecycle that contemporary architecture has been revolving since.