

na in 1938 and total defeat in 1939). Additionally, he states that the slow advance of Franco's troops was actually a strategic move. Franco opted for a long-drawn-out war of attrition to grind down the enemy. These tactics enabled the complete destruction of rival forces and laid the foundation for the widespread reprisals that followed the takeover of territory. Such war brutality left a devastating toll on Spain – nearly 600.000 dead, of whom 100.000 were due to the repression unleashed by the rebels and 55.000 due to the violence in the republican zone. Almost half a million people were imprisoned in jails and concentration camps and the postwar repression (1939–1946) took additional 50.000 lives. In the epilogue, the author summarizes the postwar retribution, along with the position of Francoist Spain during the Second World War and its international isolation after 1945 due to its close ties to Hitler from the previous period. Moreover, Spain and Portugal were the only European countries that managed to preserve the dictatorships from the interwar period and keep the regime well into the Cold War era. In conclusion, the author mentions that the Civil War and the dictatorship have affected several generations of Spaniards, which in

turn significantly influenced the course and the outcome of the democratic transition in the late 1970s.

The constant publishing of revised editions of the book adequately reflect its scientific quality and conciseness, as well as the significance of the topic. The work remains highly useful for those who are new to the history of the Spanish Civil War, but the experts in the field may benefit from the analysis of the most recent historical, political and mnemonic debates about the conflict, as well as understand why and how certain aspects of the war get (re)examined in both public and scientific sphere. The bibliographic commentary at the end of the book is noteworthy as it presents the latest findings about certain specific topics from both Spanish and international scholars. The structure of the thematic approach may occasionally make the reader lose track of the chronology of events, but it neatly separates the main characteristics of the war (causes of the conflict, institutional evolution in both zones, international implications, course of military operations, wartime and postwar repression) and enables the deeper understanding of those particular aspects.

Dimitrije MATIĆ

Roderick Beaton, *The Greeks: A Global History*.
New York: Basic Books, 2021, 608 p.

Professor Roderick Beaton, in his latest book *The Greeks: A Global History*, sets out to provide a multi-millennial synthesis of Greek history, stretching from the Bronze Age to the Modern Period and present it as an integral whole that, although having some breaks, has nevertheless managed to retain overall continuity. The author's specific goal, was to analyse the nature and form of Greek identity

transformation, as well as the global impact of Greek history and culture. Beaton stressed that it was the specific way in which the Greeks managed to constantly reconfigure their identity that made it so rich and resilient, thus allowing it to last through the ages. Beaton's book is historiographically very interesting, as it seeks to depict Greek history in a 'long-duration' perspective, similar to authors such

as Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, Nicholas Doumanis or Carol Thomas. However, in doing so, he opts for a clear parameter of what it means to be Greek – in this case Beaton equates it with a Greek speaker, which allows him to avoid the delicate debates over the persistence of Greek identity in certain historical periods. Additionally, this linguistic choice shows resemblance with the works of Geoffrey Horrocks, who strongly advocates viewing the Greek language as a single, multi-millennial continuous entity. Finally, the author's mastery of the different phases of the Greek language allows him to use a rich plethora of primary and secondary sources to support his arguments.

The book features 16 chapters in total, each dedicated to a different period of Greek history (from Antiquity to the Contemporary period). It seems to be addressed to a wider, not strictly academic audience, which would be interested in further exploring the many layers of the Hellenic past and present. Upon closer inspection, these chapters can be divided into a few bigger blocs, with each representing a greater historical period.

The first bloc (chapters 1–8) analyses Greece in Antiquity – a period which left a lasting legacy on Western civilisation and formed some of its fundamental pillars. Beaton first traces the origins of Greece to the Bronze Age Mycenaean palace-centred bureaucratic kingdoms, which yielded the first Greek civilisation (Mycenaean) and the first instance of written Greek (through Linear B tablets). Furthermore, he reveals that Hittite and Egyptian written evidence from this era possibly record the earliest mentions of the Greek name – “Ahhiyawa” and “Tanaju”, elaborating that they most likely resemble later Homeric designations for Greeks – *Achaeans* and *Danaans*. It is in

this period that the events which were later mythologised as the Trojan War would have probably occurred and would come to impact both ancient and modern culture. The next great Greek contribution (which the author considers revolutionary) came during the transition from the so-called Dark Ages into the Archaic era, with the adoption and adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet that would later serve as one of the bases of Western and, eventually, global literacy. Professor Beaton stresses that this would also be crucial in writing down the works of Homer and Hesiod (which were some of the first instances of Western literature). As time passed and the Greek world experienced increased prosperity (both through augmented trade and emergence of new colonies), the intellectual seeds of Western science would be sown, as visible in the early pre-Socratic philosophers like Thales, Anaximenes, Anaximander, Heraclitus, Pythagoras and others. Coupled with a rich epic tradition, the Archaic Age would give birth to Greek lyric poetry (as in the works of Archilochus or Sappho) that explored the more mundane aspects of human life. Next, as the Classical era slowly approached, some cities of Greece (Athens in particular, starting with the reforms of Cleisthenes) developed a middling citizen polis ideology that became a foundation for the later introduction of ‘radical democracy’ of Classical Athens. Its core thought was that a free citizen body was to make up the nucleus of the polis community (which in itself constituted an early contribution to political philosophy) and, according to Beaton, helped significantly cement local identity amongst the Greek cities. The author stresses that the watershed moment came during the Graeco-Persian Wars, as the Greeks emerged victorious after two Persian onslaughts.

As a result, some of the battles from these conflicts (like Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis) became immortalised and are still part of popular memory today. Consequently, Beaton argues, Greeks started to think of themselves increasingly as part of a wider, pan-Hellenic identity. This was particularly exploited by the Athenians, who used it to form their own alliance and extract tribute from its members. Therefore, this newly-created financial surplus would be used to fund grand construction projects, allowing buildings that became prime examples of Classical art and architecture to emerge – like the Parthenon and the Erechtheion. Furthermore, Athens was undergoing deep political changes at the time, as reforms enabled it to introduce a type of democratic system that theoretically allowed every free adult male citizen to participate in its political life. According to Beaton, this is still considered a model by many parliamentary democracies nowadays. Sparta, on the other hand, presented a strict and rigorous model that was focused on military prowess and limited political participation. The first historians in the Western tradition, like Herodotus and Thucydides, also emerged in 5th century, thus starting a rich tradition of historiography that continues to this day. Athens significantly contributed culturally as well: Theatre assumed a prominent role in its society and many readers will remember the eminent status that Athenian plays still hold in our contemporary theatrical culture. Intellectually, this was a period in which Socrates, Plato and Aristotle would make their mark, thus changing the course of European philosophy forever. Beaton emphasises that in this period Isocrates came up with a new definition of Greek identity, stressing participation in Greek education and spirit, rather than being born a Greek. The rise

of Philip II of Macedon in IV century BC would allow the Greeks to be united under one banner, whilst Alexander the Great (his son) would embark on conquering the Persian Empire and extended Hellenic culture all the way to the Hindukush. Professor Beaton thus argues that this created conditions for Hellenic identity to be reinvented in a broader sense, as Greek became a global language, whilst Hellenic culture would come to blend with local ones across Alexander's former empire. This mixing gave rise to unique cultural blends, but also highly specialised institutions that dealt with Greek language and culture, such as the Mouseion (with its great library) in Alexandria. The Hellenistic era was a period of cultural flourishing, as Athens yielded New Comedy, which spread throughout the theatres of the Hellenistic World. It was also from Athens that Epicurus and Zeno started their respective philosophical currents of Epicureanism and Stoicism. This period's general atmosphere of intellectual inquiry also created fertile ground for major scientific discoveries (like those of Eratosthenes or Archimedes). Next, the Roman conquest of Greece allowed Rome to experience intense cultural influence from Hellas, which the Romans recognised as culturally equal. This fact later helped the relatively quick spread of Christianity particularly in the Roman Empire's eastern half, since the Gospels were initially written in Greek. Gradually, Christianity would be imbued with Greek ideas and concepts, particularly in the realm of philosophy (thus making it more compatible with Greek culture and more receptive to the common populace). Meanwhile, in 212 AD, Emperor Caracalla pushed through an edict that extended Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire. Consequently, this had a profound

effect in Greek lands, as Greeks started gradually abandoning their Hellenic name (which began to assume an increasingly Pagan connotation) and adopted a Roman (Romaic) identity that blended the Greek language and Christianity with a strong identification with the Roman state. As the Western Empire crumbled, the Eastern one continued to live and it was during Justinian's reign that the Empire was briefly reunited, albeit only in the Mediterranean. In addition, Emperor Justinian would leave a legacy for both Roman and Christian cultures, as he would erect Hagia Sophia – the greatest church in Christendom for a millennium to come and codified Roman law through the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (which still serves as one of the cornerstones of many contemporary legal systems around the world).

The second bloc (Chapters 9–11) deals with the Medieval history of Greek speakers, from the reign of Justinian to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Firstly, Beaton emphasises that the Byzantine Empire managed to preserve much of the treasures of Graeco-Roman Antiquity and thus develop a strong tradition of Classical scholarship which became integral to its intellectual life. Although the Empire's inhabitants (mostly Greek speakers) strongly espoused an Eastern Roman state identity (professing to be *Rhom(a)ioi* - Romans), there was nevertheless a sense of continuity with Antiquity through the Greek language (especially among authors who used its archaising variant). In addition, Constantinople was the centre of Eastern Orthodoxy, thus adding further to its prestige. These facts combined, according to Beaton, allowed the Empire to act as a cultural beacon towards its neighbouring peoples, including those which had taken large chunks of territory from it. Thus, for example, it successfully spread

its culture amongst some of the Slavs, who were Christianised and adopted the Cyrillic script (which was invented by Byzantine missionaries). Furthermore, the Empire would also play a big role in establishing Christian canons and would go through its own internal struggles like iconoclasm, which ended in the victory of Orthodox doctrine that would retain icons as its integral part. Tensions with the Roman Pope, stretching to the early days of the Church, continued and culminated in 1054, when the two heads excommunicated each other (thus separating the two denominations to this day). The author emphasises that the true radical breakup in Catholic-Orthodox relations came during the IV Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in 1204, which divided the Empire amongst the Crusaders (who pillaged the imperial capital and its churches on an unprecedented scale - thus leading to permanent animosity between the Orthodox and Catholics). In 1261 the Empire would be restored by the Palaiologos dynasty, but Byzantium would not recover, as Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, after a series of civil wars and attempts to secure an anti-Ottoman Crusade through Church Union with Rome.

The final bloc (chapters 12–15 and Epilogue) narrates Greek history from the fall of Constantinople to the emergence of contemporary Greece. The exiled Byzantine Greeks, namely, had a key impact on dissemination of ancient knowledge in the West and catalysed the Renaissance in Italy. This greatly helped in the emergence of the philosophy of civic humanism and the rediscovery of Classical Greek authors and philosophers. In the Ottoman Empire, the Greeks also played an important part, as they became notable members of the Ottoman bureaucracy (*dragoumans*,

hospodars, etc.) and established themselves as an important merchant factor. As 18th and 19th centuries approached and rationalistic ideas gained traction in Europe, this led to a renewed interest in Antiquity and Greece in particular. Congruently, the Greek intelligentsia (figures like Adamantios Korais, Rigas Velestinlis) was influenced by these ideas and started advocating for the emergence of an independent Greece. Beaton claims that one of the most radical identity transformations in Greek history occurred in this period. With the start and subsequent success of the Greek revolution, the Greeks (much to the opposition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate) started to abandon the Romanic identity on an official level and began adopting a Hellenic one, modelled after Classical Greece. Within this context, the author asserts that this was not only a top-down, but a bottom-up tendency as well (citing the revival of ancient-styled names and surnames among ordinary people as an example). This would be particularly visible during the rule of King Otto I, when Greece underwent a process of official antiquisation that entailed moving the capital to Athens, adopting the drachma as a national currency and adorning cities with Neoclassical buildings. Greece would continue to develop along Western lines for the rest of the 19th century, as it gradually started to adopt a more constitutional and parliamentary form of government. The country would gain additional prestige as it was the host of the first renewed Olympic games in 1896 during which Spyridon Louis would win the Marathon race for the Hellenes. Furthermore, Greece was also an integral part of 20th century world history, as it emerged victorious in both World Wars and gained particular esteem for rejecting Mussolini's ultimatum, as well as for scoring some of the

earliest Allied victories in 1940. However, it also suffered several traumatic events – the defeat against the Turks in Asia Minor in 1922 (which triggered a wave of more than 2 million Greek refugees from Anatolia that were later integrated into Greek society), a particularly brutal Axis occupation and a bloody civil war that additionally ravaged the country after World War II. The author explains that Greece's post-World War II trajectory set it on the gradual path of integration with the rest of Europe through the European Economic Community (EEC; and later, the European Union), which greatly benefitted it politically, socially and economically (despite the temporary setbacks during the Dictatorship of the Colonels). The rest of the period, leading up to the third decade of 21st century, would be marked by great successes for Greece (such as economic expansion as part of the European common market or the hosting of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens). On the other hand, Greece would also face misfortunes, like the Turkish invasion and partition of Cyprus in 1974 and the Great Financial crisis (2009–2018). Finally, Beaton emphasises that Greeks contributed significantly to Modern World culture, as figures like Constantine Cavafy, Giorgos Seferis, Mikis Theodorakis (and others) would leave a global trace in their respective fields. Last, but not least, after recounting the rich geographical and identity diversity of Greeks spread around the world (as well as the increasing significance of the Greek diaspora), in the final chapter (Epilogue) Beaton concludes that the never-ending process of identity evolution was something that inherently characterised Greeks, regardless of their location, and will undoubtedly continue to be the case in the future.

Overall, *The Greeks: A Global History* provides a very interesting and dynamic read that seeks to present the Greeks and their history as a sophisticated patchwork of identity phases, each of which has had a global influence in its unique way and all of which have contributed to what we today think of as *the Greek identity*. The book's depth and

style of argumentation allows the reader to go through the various historical stages without difficulty and gain valuable insight into how the Greeks were shaped as a people, depending on the specific circumstances they found themselves in.

Andrija KAPETANOVIĆ

Repeating History 1941–1991? Two break-ups of Yugoslavia as Repeated History? Serbian Perspectives, edited by Predrag J. Marković, Bojan B. Dimitrijević.
Belgrade: Institute for Contemporary History, 2021, 330 p.

In 2021 the Institute for Contemporary history published a collection titled "Repeating History 1941–1991? Two break-ups of Yugoslavia as Repeated History? Serbian Perspectives" As the introductory essay by Predrag Marković makes clear, the articles contained in the volume are not exercises in comparative history. Rather, they investigate select episodes from 1941 and 1991 "side-by-side". Marković asks the reader to be wary of hasty comparisons and draw his own conclusions.

In "The April War of 1941" historians Marko B. Miletić and Miloš Žikić recount the main course of the German invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. The reader is offered a vivid presentation of combat operations along the main thrusts of the German attack. While mostly covering familiar historiographical ground, the narration of combat operations is interspersed with numerous nuggets. The invasion, for example, did not start - as almost universally believed - with the bombing of Belgrade on April 6, but with a forced crossing of Danube by a German unit around Đerdap in the late hours of April 5. The Yugoslav army assumed it would hold the

attacker back for six weeks. Instead, the war was over in barely two weeks. Ever since the end of the Second World War, the sudden collapse of the Yugoslav war effort prompted the Serb and Croat historiography to trade accusations, the former blaming the defeat on the unwillingness of the Croats to take up the fight against the invader, and the later pointing out the general lack of military competency and meek response to mobilization. In Miletić and Žikić's account, the primary way the national tensions sabotaged the defense was through the adoption of a flawed military plan, which placed the bulk of the troops near to Yugoslav borders as Slovenes and Croats were unwilling to fight outside their home regions. Without a deep strategic reserve, the Yugoslav army stood no chance against a better armed and more experienced enemy. Finally, the Yugoslav high command shares no small part of the blame, as it failed to call up the reservists on time. To circle back to the questions posed by Marković's prefatory essay, we might say that the national problems greatly hampered the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) war effort in Croatia as well, as most non-Serbs either defected