



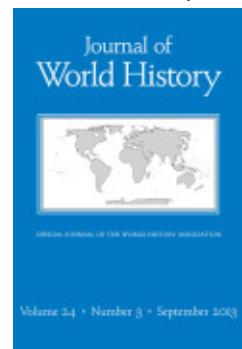
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**Nationalists Who  
Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia,  
Trieste, and Venice by Dominique Kirchner Reill (review)**

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only does the book reify and support the continued usage of the term Middle East (see chapter 3 specifically), but at times some of the all too familiar stereotypes of the Middle East (i.e., as a place of political extremism, resentments, and oil, and as lacking agency to change) are recycled (see the introductory chapter specifically). Both Bonine and Adelson make a cautionary statement about conflating and homogenizing such a vast area, but a more sustained critique is warranted. It is notable that literary scholars and feminist perspectives are absent from this book, and perhaps such contributions might have added a more critical perspective. Another area that could have been developed is an analysis of the impacts or effects of the use and evolution of the concept today. Though Hazbun does examine the effects of discourses today, and there are inklings of such points scattered elsewhere, the book misses the chance to probe into the ways in which the general public imagines this place, as well as how foreign policies are implemented today. A smaller concern is the lack of editorial discussion. Editorial introductions to each section were absent. These would have been immensely useful for weaving together some main arguments and similar themes between the chapters.

Noting these few concerns, any professional or advanced student who focuses on the Middle East should read this book, as it can help to question the “object” of many people’s studies and curiosities. Ultimately, what this book highlights is that even though the Middle East has Eurocentric geopolitical origins and that it is a fluid concept, it is a concept that is very meaningful, very much here to stay, and thus very much in need of critique.

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*Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice.* By DOMINIQUE KIRCHNER REILL. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2012. 336 pp. \$65.00 (cloth and e-book).

The lands surrounding the Adriatic Sea have often changed hands, and they have been famous—indeed, often infamous—for the diversity of their population. The dominant groups have been Italian and, to adopt the less-than-nuanced rhetoric of the nineteenth century, Slavic, but the commercial importance of Adriatic ports meant that languages from all over the world could be heard on a daily basis,

too. As Romantic nationalism began to inspire European intellectuals in the wake of the Napoleonic wars, residents of the Adriatic region pondered what those nationalist ideas might mean for their diverse homeland. In addition to this developing nationalism, political control over the Adriatic from Venice to Dubrovnik had shifted to the Habsburgs in 1814, giving the sense that a new era was at hand. Nationalist historians have typically characterized the Adriatic thinkers who emerged in this first generation of Habsburg rule as proponents of nation-states, placing individuals either in the story of the creation of a unified Italy or the development of Yugoslavia or Croatia. In her study of a network of six of these thinkers, however, Reill reminds us that, at least before 1848, they had other ideas about nationalism, too.

Occupying the most important node in the network was Niccolò Tommaseo (1802–1874), a Dalmatian-born writer who spent much of his life in Venice. Like many upwardly mobile residents of the Adriatic region, his primary language of communication was Italian and he initially rejected the language and culture of his Slavic mother. However, after spending some time in exile on the island of Corfu and reading popular Romantic studies of Dalmatian folk songs, he made an effort to renew his connections to the Slavic world. As a result, he developed an understanding of nationalism that Reill has dubbed “Adriatic multinationalism.” Tommaseo argued that separate nations should exist, but they should exist in neither vacuum, nor hierarchy; to develop, nations needed to interact with one another, sharing their best traits and learning from others. It was a nationalism of cooperation and equality, while also recognizing a fundamental difference between nations, and it did not require that each nation have its own separate state. It was also a nationalism that eschewed revolution; having witnessed the trauma of the Napoleonic era, Tommaseo was an advocate of reform and gradual change, rather than abrupt, violent transitions.

Tommaseo’s prolific writings on all manner of subjects earned him a wide following of readers and correspondents, not only in Adriatic communities, but throughout Europe. Reill convincingly argues that the development of steamship service in the Adriatic produced an intellectual network that fostered the development of Tommaseo’s conception of multinationalism. Before the introduction of the steamships, mail service and travel were unpredictable, given their reliance on Adriatic weather, but with the steamship service, not only could there be more frequent post, but individuals could carry correspondences privately—a consideration that helped intellectuals avoid limitations imposed by Habsburg censors. The steamships, first operated by

Lloyd, also led to the development of regional newspapers and periodicals that were sponsored directly by the company. In Trieste, the three major publications were all run by Lloyd, and they were all edited by the partnership of Francesco Dall'Ongaro (1808–1873) and Pacifico Valussi (1813–1893). Both editors became regular correspondents of Tommaseo, and their publications supported Adriatic multinationalism. Their publications also provided a forum for the Dalmatian writers Medo Pucić (1821–1883), Ivan August Kaznačić (1817–1882), and Stipan Ivičević (1801–1871). Pucić and Kaznačić tended toward a more pro-Slavic position, and Ivičević's project was the creation of a universal system of writing that would allow communication despite differences in language. The six authors were in frequent communication and often worked together on joint projects in the ten years before 1848, fostering the elucidation of how multinationalism might work, not only in the Adriatic, but throughout Europe.

Reill argues that the experiences of the six men during the revolutions of 1848 destroyed their network of communication and also pushed them away from Adriatic multinationalism and toward either Italian or Slavic mononationalism. Tommaseo became the minister for religion and education in the short-lived Republic of San Marco (Venice); Dall'Ongaro fought against Habsburg forces and developed a new newspaper that stressed the needs of Italians to destroy "German" Habsburgs and their "Croatian" soldiers (pp. 189–190). Valussi supported Venice, but was saved from exile due to his political connections in Vienna; he later ran for office and had a lengthy political career as an Italian irredentist. Pucić, Kaznačić, and Ivičević stayed in Habsburg-controlled Dalmatia and continued their enthusiasm for multinationalism, although they shifted away from seeing the Adriatic as a tool for cooperative national development. Instead, they celebrated the multinationalism of their immediate localities and developed a greater sense of identity as Dalmatians.

Reill effectively traces the development of this intellectual network and the transmission of ideas through it, as well as the importance of the revolutions of 1848 in breaking it apart. Her account is well written and succinct, and would be appropriate not only for specialists in the field but also for upper-level undergraduates studying the development of nationalist thought. The book highlights an important problem in writing biography: namely, the tendency to view a person's beliefs as constant over their lifetime, or at least in their adulthood. Reill's study clearly demonstrates that people change their minds. In this case, suggesting that these figures were consistent proponents of an Italian or Slavic nationalism throughout their careers

obscures the complexity of their thought before 1848 and makes those mononationalist projects appear stronger and more inevitable than they actually were.

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*Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914.* By DAVIDE RODOGNO. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011. 376 pp. \$39.50 (cloth and e-book).

Davide Rodogno's *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914* (a part of the *Emergence of a European Concept and International Practice* series) analyzes the confluence between humanitarian intervention and geopolitical rivalries in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The book explores how legal scholars, politicians, and public figures in Europe defined humanitarian intervention with respect to the Ottoman Empire—a state Europeans never considered fully civilized and whose sovereignty was always up for debate even after the Treaty of Paris (1856) briefly admitted the Muslim empire, albeit as inferior, into the Christian Family of Nations.

*Against Massacre* raises the following question: In what specific historical contexts and geopolitical constellations did the Great Powers decide to intervene on behalf of humanity (i.e., to stop and prevent future massacres of and atrocities against Christian [never Muslim] Ottoman subjects)? Or, alternatively, when did the powers stand on the sidelines despite evidence of gross violations against humanity? Rodogno's cogently argued, meticulously researched, and well-written answer shows that Great Power governments assessed the severity of violence that the Ottoman state perpetrated against its rebellious Christian subjects and crafted responses according to a few major considerations: Europe's collective security; the commercial interests of each power; shifting alliances for "balance of power" among Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Germany; and the success of the broader colonial projects of each power in Asia and Africa. Meanwhile the perceived and real failures of the nineteenth-century Ottoman efforts at sweeping administrative, economic, legal, and military reforms provided the Great Powers with plenty of opportunities to exercise diplomatic pressures on Ottoman governments for betraying their pledge to enforce "good government" (p. 29). Ottoman reformers faced a real