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underlines the significance of mutual responsibility: the Balkans must continue to develop, while the EU must restore its strategic commitment to the region.

In summary, *Serbia and the Balkans: Three Centuries of Embrace with Europe* effectively straddles historiography, cultural studies, and political analysis. It challenges Eurocentric narratives while acknowledging the Balkans as an integral part of European civilisation. The volume's timeframe, spanning from the Enlightenment to modern-day EU transitions, provides a chronological and thematic consistency rarely found in edited collections. The contributors take a critical approach to the core themes of cultural transfer and Europeanisation, presenting them as reciprocal interactions rather than one-way processes. The volume holds significant scholarly value: it redefines Europe's intellectual geography by arguing that the Balkans are Europe's mirror rather than its borderland or backwater. With its interdisciplinary scope and compelling synthesis of three centuries of cultural communication, the book represents a watershed moment in the study of contacts and interactions between Europe and the Balkans.

Stefan Berger and Philipp Müller, eds., *Dynamics of Emigration. Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20th Century*.
New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2022, 268 p.

Reviewed by Petar S. Ćurčić*

Historical scholarship has not always been devoid of political overtones. The experience of forced migration has frequently exerted a profound influence on eminent historians and their scholarly contributions. A notable example of this phenomenon is Thucydides, who, having been expelled from Athens, embodies the intersection of historiography and political upheaval. Stefan Berger and Philipp Müller astutely observe that the 20th century was deeply marked by forced migration. Totalitarian regimes, particularly those in Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union, engendered highly ambivalent attitudes towards intellectuals. Many scholars conformed to the ruling systems, continuing their research uninterrupted, while others had no choice but to emigrate—among them bourgeois historians from the USSR, as well as Jews, social democrats, and communists from Germany, Italy, and Spain. In response, Russian émigrés established several institutions, such as the Russian Free University in Prague, the Kondakov Seminar, the Russian Historical Archive Abroad, and the Russian Library (later renamed the Slavonic Library). A similar process unfolded for émigré scholars from communist states after 1945, leading to the formation of institutions such as the Polish Instytut Historyczny in Rome, Collegium Carolinum in Munich, the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, the Archives of Czechs and

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Slovaks Abroad in Chicago, the Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European Culture at Columbia University, the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London, the Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco, and the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America. Through these efforts, historians frequently assumed the role of cultural and scholarly intermediaries, particularly in the United States. The book *Dynamics of Emigration* encompasses an introduction, thirteen chapters, and a conclusion. These chapters explore the diverse experiences of historians who emigrated from Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Spain, and Portugal.

In the first chapter, *A Private Perch: Cosmopolitanism, Nostalgia, and Commitment in the Émigré Historian's Persona*, Jo Tollebeek highlights many German historians who, having migrated to the United States and the United Kingdom, adapted to their new environments. Many of these scholars developed hybrid identities that reflected their new circumstances—illustrated by Peter Joachim Fröhlich's transformation into Peter Gay, and Georg Gerson Igersheimer adopting the name Georg G. Iggers. The complexity of identity is further exemplified by Wilma Iggers, Georg G. Iggers's wife, who came from a secularized Jewish family in Prague and spoke both German and Czech. The cosmopolitan context of their upbringing and subsequent European identity within the American milieu shaped Iggers and Gay's perspectives. They critiqued nationalism and embraced the concept of diversity within unity as a fundamental principle. Additionally, historians such as Eric Hobsbawm, Iggers, and Gay exhibited a form of nostalgia, reflecting on their works about Weimar culture, the German Enlightenment and historicism, and their personal experiences growing up in Germany.

In the chapter titled *The Émigré Historian: A Scholarly Persona?*, Herman Paul delves into the complex and nuanced aspects of intellectuals in exile. A central theme in Paul's analysis is the concept of hybridity and the liminality experienced by historians who navigated between their German origins and the American context into which they relocated. The notion of "Scholarly Personae" encompasses the professional self-conceptions, formative practices, daily routines, embodied methodologies, and exemplary figures that define their scholarly identities. Paul illustrates how the American academic environment fundamentally altered the methods and practices of these émigré historians. Confronted with diverse groups of émigré students and the need to adapt to the American educational system, these scholars experienced a profound transformation of their pedagogical and research approaches. The impact of this new context varied among German intellectuals; some acclimated to their new surroundings, while others, such as Hans Rothfels, longed to return to their homeland. The transatlantic perspective enabled many émigré historians to reassess and often reject the perspectives of their German mentors.

In *The Long Arm of the Dictator: Cross-Border Persecution of Exiled Historians*, Antoon De Baets addresses the challenges faced by contemporary historians amid the erosion of democratic institutions. The struggle for intellectual freedom manifested in various forms, including movement restrictions, censorship, preventing prominent intellectuals from communicating with family, and

diplomatic pressure to block the publication of historical writings. These issues were prevalent in totalitarian and authoritarian regimes such as Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Imperial Japan, Iran, Communist China, Francoist Spain, the Dominican Republic under Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, Romania under Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime, Sri Lanka during the armed conflict (1983–2009), and Taiwan under Chiang Ching-kuo. Historians in exile employed two principal strategies. The first, termed "Survival Strategies," involved adapting to new environments while continuing to pursue their scholarship and activism. The second, known as "Destruction Strategies," entailed abandoning the profession, destroying personal documents, and, in some tragic cases, suicide.

Joseph Malherek's contribution, *Nativism and the Specter of Antisemitism in the Placement of German Refugee Scholars, 1933–1945*, explores the impact of anti-Semitic legislation on the relocation of German scholars. According to data from 1935, approximately 650 scientists left Germany, a trend that persisted following the Anschluss of 1938. International organizations and foundations, including the Institute of International Education (IIE), the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the International Student Service (ISS), the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland, played pivotal roles in facilitating these scholars' resettlement. The University of Istanbul emerged as a significant hub for German scientists, and Max Horkheimer's Institute for Social Research found a new home at Columbia University. In addition to the United States, the United Kingdom played a part in this effort, primarily by making it easier for scholars to move to British universities and institutions throughout the British Empire.

Iryna Mykhailova's chapter, *Defending Objectivity: Paul Oskar Kristeller and the Controversy over Historical Knowledge in the United States*, explores the influence of the émigré experience on Kristeller's intellectual path. Mykhailova shows how Kristeller's migration led him to reject both pragmatism and analytical philosophy within the field of historiography. Kristeller opposed conflating historical methodology with scientific methods, rejecting the notion that history could be governed by general laws akin to those of the social sciences. He aimed to position historians as seekers of truth rather than mere reporters swayed by contemporary events. This perspective placed him at odds with Carl Hempel, another German émigré and proponent of logical positivism, who argued that history could be understood through predictive general laws as part of a unified framework.

Philipp Stelzel's chapter, *Émigré Historians and the Postwar Transatlantic Dialogue*, begins with the case of Hans Rothfels, who transitioned from being an émigré to a remigré. The return of scholars such as Hans Rosenberg and Dietrich Gerhard to Germany brought fresh perspectives to German historical scholarship, heavily influencing the post-war academic landscape. Emigré historians played a crucial role in shaping German studies, with notable figures such as Hajo Holborn, who taught at Yale and supervised over fifty dissertations, and Felix Gilbert, who served as a pivotal link between German and American historiography. Despite these contributions, friction persisted between the German academic community and émigré scholars. Stelzel highlights those disputes, such as Gerhard

Ritter's commendation of Rothfels' *The German Opposition to Hitler*, while vehemently criticizing Helmuth Plessner's *Verspätete Nation* as mere émigré imagination. Additionally, differences emerged regarding the works of Fritz Stern and George Mosse on the intellectual roots of Nazism, with West German historians often critiquing émigré scholars for what they saw as their inadequate understanding of the German perspective.

In *Between Integration and Institutional Self-Organization: Polish Émigré Scholarship in the United States, 1939–1989*, Kai Johann Willms outlines the organization and evolution of the Polish émigré community. Following the Polish government's relocation to London and the United States, the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America (PIASA) was established in 1942. Willms details the political divisions within the émigré community, notably between the conservative and liberal factions. Historians such as Oskar Halecki and Felix Gross played pivotal roles in promoting Polish studies in the United States. Halecki notably challenged the concept of East Central Europe, advocating for its distinction from Russia and alignment with the West. Conversely, Zbigniew Brzeziński, representing the second generation of Polish émigrés, faced skepticism from the Polish community due to his perceived overintegration, which led some to question his attachment to Polish identity.

Judith Szapor's chapter *The Unlikely Careers of Laura Polanyi (1882–1959) as a Historian: The Intersections of Exile, Gender, Class, and Age* examines the prominent role of Laura Polanyi, a Hungarian historian who emigrated to America. Polanyi, a member of the assimilated Jewish middle class, was notable not only as Hungary's first woman historian but also as a prominent advocate for women's rights in Hungary and Austria. Her work had both European and emancipatory dimensions, reflecting her broader impact on the historiographical and feminist movements of her time.

Erős Vilmos, in his contribution *From Geistesgeschichte to Public History: The Years of Emigration of the Hungarian Historian Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr.*, offers a comprehensive exploration of the life and scholarly contributions of this eminent Hungarian historian. Vilmos identifies the phases in past Hungarian political emigration, identifying three distinct waves: the first in 1848/49, the second between the World Wars, and the third immediately following World War II, spanning 1945 to 1948. Notably, the postwar wave included both extreme right-wing intellectuals and anti-fascist figures. Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. emerged as a particularly prominent figure in this context. In his early academic career, Iványi-Grünwald focused on the history of ideas, and as an émigré, he produced influential works examining the relationship between the state and the church in Eastern European countries and the early stages of the Potsdam Agreement, delivering lectures on the BBC on Hungarian and British intellectuals and politicians. For Iványi-Grünwald, public history represented a counter-narrative to the Marxist concept of class struggle and the Turanist interpretation of Hungarian history (insisting on the Asian origin of the Hungarians), reflecting his broader intellectual and ideological struggles.

Branimir Janković's chapter *Building New Networks: Russian Émigré Scholars in Yugoslavia* explains the transformative impact of Russian émigré scholars on the

Yugoslav intellectual landscape. Janković highlights how these émigrés introduced innovative research methodologies and new disciplines to Yugoslavia, with the most prominent among these scholars being Alexander Soloviev (1890–1971), Aleksije Jelačić (1892–1941), Vladimir Moshin (1894–1987), and George Ostrogorsky (1902–1976). Their work proved particularly impactful in Slavic and Byzantine studies. The Yugoslav regime, recognizing the potential of these intellectuals, sought to relocate émigré institutions to Yugoslavia as early as 1938. Janković notes a distinction within this group: Aleksije Jelačić was not only engaged in contemporary Russian and European history but was also aligned with the Marxist ideas of Georgi Plekhanov. The émigré scholars significantly advanced auxiliary historical sciences such as paleography, diplomatics, economic history, and social history. Russian emigrants played an important role in founding numerous research institutions. Notably, Ostrogorsky later headed the Byzantine Institute in Belgrade, while Moshin became Director of the Archive of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. Soloviev served as Dean of the Faculty of Law in Sarajevo, although his tenure ended prematurely due to the Tito-Stalin split. Moshin's contributions included the publication of Macedonian historical sources, which played a crucial role in the development of Macedonian identity in the postwar era.

Michael Antolović's *Networking in Santa Barbara: Writing History. Dimitrije Đorđević and the Comparative History of Balkan Nations* delves into the career of the distinguished Serbian historian Dimitrije Đorđević. Đorđević, a member of the Serbian bourgeois elite and a royalist, faced persecution under both Nazi and communist regimes. Despite his extensive education and scholarly acumen, the communist authorities deemed him a reactionary unsuited for the new political order. In the challenging environment of Belgrade, Đorđević was among the scholars who cultivated international connections, particularly with Greece. His research on Balkan national revolutions exemplified his comparative approach. Following his emigration, Đorđević continued his scholarly work at the Institute for Balkan Studies, reestablished in Belgrade in 1969. Antolović notes that during the 1960s, the United States invested heavily in transatlantic academic exchange by fostering higher education and inviting intellectuals from the Eastern Bloc, including Hungarian historians Andreas Alföldi, Béla Király, and István Deák (post-1956 Revolution), Polish historian Jan T. Gross (1969), as well as Russian historians Alexander Nekrich (1976) and Alexander Kazhdan (1979), and Serbian Byzantinist Bariša Krekić. During his time in emigration, Đorđević also authored articles on notable figures such as Slobodan Jovanović, Stojan Novaković, Radomir Putnik, and Vuk Karadžić. Antolović concludes that Đorđević played a pivotal role in bridging academic communities across the Atlantic.

In the essay *António Sérgio and José Ortega y Gasset: History, Theory, and Experiences of Exile*, Sérgio Campos Matos offers a nuanced examination of the historiographical contributions of these two prominent intellectuals, both born in 1883—Sérgio in Portugal and Ortega y Gasset in Spain. Coming from similar socio-intellectual backgrounds characterized by rationalism and neo-Kantian thought, both embarked on their

intellectual journeys in the 1920s and 1930s. Despite their shared origins, their paths diverged dramatically upon their emigration. Sérgio espoused a vision of human progress and perfection, advocating for Portugal's cosmopolitan and universalist mission. Conversely, Ortega y Gasset critiqued abstract intellectualism and rationalism, emphasizing the primacy of historical context in shaping human understanding. Campos Matos further elucidates the existential challenges they encountered in exile, particularly their financial hardships.

Christophe Araujo's chapter, *Émigré Portuguese Historians in France, 1945–1974: New Methods of Thinking and Writing Portuguese History*, explores the organization and intellectual contributions of Portuguese historians who opposed the authoritarian regime in their homeland and relocated to France after 1945. Araujo underscores the prominent roles of António José Saraiva (1917–1993), Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1919–2011), and Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (1920–1980). In France, these émigré historians were notably influenced by the Annales School. Godinho's research into Portuguese economic history and colonial expansion, in particular, was profoundly shaped by the works of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch. His scholarly exchanges with Fernand Braudel and Pierre Chaunu further enriched his perspectives. Barradas de Carvalho also engaged with Braudel, reflecting the deep impact of the Annales School on their historiographical methodologies.

Finally, in the *Conclusion: New Perspectives on Émigré Scholarship and What Remains to be Done*, Stefan Berger and Philipp Müller address the intricate interplay between scholarly and political personae. They argue that scholarly identities cannot be disentangled from political contexts and emphasize the pivotal role of international organizations in facilitating the relocation and professional integration of émigré historians. This comprehensive summary of the *Dynamics of Emigration: Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20th Century* underscores its significance not only for 20th-century historiography but also for the broader research of transnational and global history. This volume offers a seminal contribution to understanding the multifaceted experiences and impacts of émigré scholars within historical scholarship.

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