

Kin, and Neighbors is a must-read, while the rich material and lively writing will captivate historians, linguists, and Slavists of any period.

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Loyal unto Death: Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia. By Keith Brown. *New Anthropologies of Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013. xx, 257 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Chronology. Index. Photographs. Maps. \$80.00, paper.

It is often assumed that changes in the late Ottoman Balkan territories necessarily marked the contours of a nascent, often violent ethnonationalism. Anthropologist Keith Brown offers a convincing argument for reconsidering this calculative marriage of tropes. By way of creative (re)readings of “unconventional” sources, Brown identifies different associational “modalities” that have contributed to the violence in Balkan history. Largely avoiding generalizations about group loyalties tied to sect or nation, Brown’s corrective examination of the many contradictory factors accounting for the violence in Macedonia at once opens new comparative channels and introduces new strategies to further disaggregate traditional categories of analysis.

Expanding on previous retellings of Macedonia’s contested past, Brown mobilizes what he calls an *archival imagination* in a way that will certainly appeal to readers. His approach is both innovative and effectively convincing in providing a new understanding of group formation and the motivations of members of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (*Makedonskata Revolucionerna Organizacija [MRO]*), one of many armed groups roaming the southern Balkans from the 1890s to the mid-1930s. Brown’s careful ethnography of this group’s violence includes a close analysis of the communicative techniques used to define the contours of the MRO’s constituency. As such, his work contributes to a deeper understanding of how trust, obedience, and loyalty emerge in the complex social setting of an insurgency.

Crucial to his larger, corrective points are Brown’s analyses of the interactions between seemingly disparate actors from a wide range of socioeconomic and geographic backgrounds. Drawing exclusively on two archival sources, Brown offers a vivid accounting of the MRO’s nebulous human infrastructure in rural Macedonia. Beyond the logistics of recruiting, arming, and organizing direct, violent action against the Ottoman state (and rival Greek, Albanian, and Serb targets), Brown’s selective reading of British consular reports and a so-called Ilinden Dossier, housed at the Macedonian National Archives, in Skopje, brings a depth of understanding to the history of MRO operations that is largely missing from earlier works on the movement. Indeed, it is here that the book is most successful: Brown highlights how loyalty among disparate actors was necessary to sustain dangerous operations, such as smuggling messages from central command and illegal weapons to fighters based inside Macedonia.

Brown’s main source for understanding how and why local peasants as-

sisted the often brutal MRO is the testimonials of older Macedonians whose claims of having logistically, financially, and morally supported the movement were recorded by post-World War II Yugoslav authorities. Belgrade had just rehabilitated the MRO as a “liberation” movement in 1948, and, in a gesture of assimilating the newly created Macedonia into the larger federation of southern Slav states, offered verified former members a pension for “service.” By way of linking these testimonials to what is known about the MRO’s activities, Brown assures us that we can appreciate not only how the group’s inner circles operated but also how the MRO temporarily bonded different peoples through “oathing” ceremonies that compromised locals’ loyalties to the church and the Ottoman state.

Such insights help us move beyond retelling the story of anti-Ottoman “nationalist” groups as extensions of the ethnonationalism promoted in certain circles at the time and in post-World War I states. As such, Brown effectively accounts for how “the practices, roles, and material objects [of] . . . the organization created a new domain of Macedonian selfhood” (12). Bonded by their declared loyalty to the MRO, these otherwise “subaltern” agents of history played critical roles in establishing what Brown calls “routes,” rather than providing for the “roots” of revolt. In other words, these peasants, crucial to the survival of such insurrections, tied their life patterns, including seasonal migrations throughout the larger world, to circuits of capital and ideals that helped build a viable insurgency by the 1890s. On this point, Brown offers a welcome fusion of his findings with those of scholarship on insurgencies in Kenya and southeast Asia. Thus, this book is a welcome addition to the study of the larger phenomenon of violent insurgencies which, as much as offering insights into such movements’ demands for discipline and solidarity, also confirms “the almost inevitable divergence between the ideals and practices [of the MRO] . . . operating across considerable distance” (82). In this respect, Brown is arguing that the MRO’s various iterations along migration chains and smuggling routes were more reflections of the full range of human possibilities in a period of transformation than primordial utterances of ethnonationalism.

This investment in recalibrating the dynamism of events and actors long entrenched in competing nationalist historiographies incites new, welcome questions. For this, Brown deserves praise. He has produced a study that truly exposes the complexity of an insurgency’s social base and the varied dynamics behind the many different kinds of people who aided them. And yet, for as much as Brown stimulates the archival imagination, there is very little actual archival work evident here. Considering the huge number of primary sources available in various archives, Brown’s selective use of testimonials from those seeking a pension, along with highly biased British sources, is doubly problematic because he also neglects the research of scholars who have actually made use of the vast resources available.

More crucial, perhaps, is Brown’s seeming at certain points in this book to abandon his “goal to call into question the particular forms of presentism, disguised as universalism, [in order to evade] . . . the dangers of exoticism” that one finds in so much of the literature (8). For example, in an effort to

explain how certain kinds of exchanges between members of the MRO and others “had important and far-reaching cultural consequences in reordering patterns of deadly retribution and escalation between different communities” (12), Brown mobilizes stereotypes about “tribal Albanians.” In Brown’s thinking, Albanians were “enemies” of the MRO whose very existence was informed by a set of codes that directly pitted them against other communities. To Brown, Albanians’ violent customs revolving around blood feuds and cattle raiding provided “a frame for the maintenance of knowledge of kinship and descent, as well as constituting social relationships between different groups” (164) that shaped the extent to which “Albanians” interacted in hostile ways with Macedonian Slavs and other Ottoman subjects. And while it is the juxtaposition of two “different” cultures that helps inform MRO practices, Brown is also mobilizing an apparent paradox, as he discovers in his sources that the MRO actually purchased illicit rifles from members of the local gendarmerie, who happened to be Albanian. To Brown, these exchanges are instructively counterintuitive, as MRO fighters would of course turn these same guns against “Albanians.”

This is an outmoded reading of transactions between inhabitants in Macedonia which inexplicably resorts to the very kinds of crude essentialisms Brown challenges elsewhere in the book. Crucially, Brown is not taking fully into account that his own sources are actually naming which “Albanians” were targeted by the MRO. It was Kjazim Arnautin, after all, whom Milan Angelov killed in 1903 for “committing outrages” (166). In other words, the violence recorded in the sources was almost always done in the context of an individual’s indiscretion, a specificity that confirms the fact that these were not ethnic conflicts between peoples or nations but personal exchanges that were far from being arbitrary acts. Indeed, if consulting the scholarship on Ottoman Macedonia today, it is clear that far more often, before 1912 at least, “Albanians” and their “Slav” or “Greek” neighbors shared common interests that were threatened with violence between them. Unfortunately, Brown does not cite the work of historians like myself, Nathalie Clayer, Gül Tokay, İpek Yosmaoğlu, Faruk A. K. Yasamee, Mark Mazower, and Theodora Dragostinova, who have all noted that it would have been entirely normal for members of the MRO and “Albanians” to share political interests and that they often did supply each other weapons when confronting common enemies.

Despite Brown’s mobilization of now discredited tropes about “tribal Albanians,” in the end, *Loyal unto Death* is an innovative work that should inspire debate. Most useful are those moments when Brown challenges the narrow linkages the scholarship still makes between individual agency and larger cultural, linguistic, or religious institutions. For example, Brown excises as much as possible the anachronistic assertions that the events surrounding the Ilinden Uprising of 1903 carried religious significance to both those who fought (and died) and the autocephalous Bulgarian Church. By arguing that affiliations with any “national” religious organization were not straightforward—and instead seeing the “organization” as challenging church authority by forging loyal alliances through their various oath-taking rituals—Brown can successfully argue that “an entirely new kind of association, in which

members had a sense of horizontal solidarity with other members, together with an unquestioning respect for the cause" (83) emerged in early twentieth-century Macedonia. It is from these conclusions that we can most comfortably draw a model of inquiry that should help us better understand the complexities of violent insurgencies in the Balkans and the larger world and perhaps identify the foundations of those anticlerical sentiments in rural Macedonia mobilized by leftists after World War I.

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Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century: A Surrealist History. By Derek Sayer. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013. xxiv, 595 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. Photographs. \$35.00, hard bound.

In his new book, Derek Sayer aligns himself with Walter Benjamin's famously unfinished *Arcades Project* in two ways. First, just as Benjamin declared Paris to be the "capital of the nineteenth century" because of the way the city seemed to embody the historical transition to modernity, Sayer offers up his own nominee for the capital of the twentieth century. It is neither New York nor Berlin nor Moscow, nor any other metropolis notable for its combination of cultural power and geopolitical significance, but diminutive Prague, which began the century as the third city of the Austro-Hungarian empire and ended it as the capital of one of Europe's smaller states. This unlikely choice is bold and suggestive but also demands close scrutiny. Second, Sayer seeks to emulate Benjamin's methodology, which he likens to photomontage—the accumulation and juxtaposition of a multitude of not-always-clearly-related fragments—while also highlighting its affinity with surrealism. "*The Arcades Project*," writes Sayer, "has much in common with the surrealist *dérive*, a meandering stroll through the highways and byways of the city that is necessarily directionless because it is driven by the hope of chancing upon the marvels hidden in the mundane" (5–6). The subtitle of Sayer's book, *A Surrealist History*, is first and foremost a methodological proposition. As such, it raises the question of whether a surrealist approach, defined in part by flâneur-like wandering and chance encounters, can be a fruitful mode of historical analysis.

But Sayer's subtitle is more than just a statement of methodology. It refers to the contents of the book as well, for the bulk of this hefty tome is devoted to an examination of the French and Czech surrealist movements. One of the unusual features of the book is that it deals as much with French surrealism as with the Czech variety, if not more so. Readers will learn more about the lives and loves (especially the loves) of André Breton and Paul Éluard than about those of their Czech counterparts, Karel Teige and Vítězslav Nezval. Paris, it seems, is still pretty important to the twentieth century, even if it was not its capital. It is difficult to describe the organizational structure. It is partly geographic, partly chronological, and partly thematic, but the book violates these principles at will—sometimes felicitously, sometimes frustrat-