



Frontiers, regions and identities in Europe / edited by Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Eßer with Jean-François Berdah and Miloš Řezník. - Pisa : Plus-Pisa university press, 2009. - (Thematic work group. 5. Frontiers and identities ; 4) 940 (21.)

1. Circostrizioni territoriali – Europa – Storia 2. Regionalismo – Europa - Storia I. Ellis, Steven II. Eßer, Raingard III. Berdah, Jean-François IV. Řezník, Miloš

CIP a cura del Sistema bibliotecario dell'Università di Pisa

This volume is published thanks to the support of the Directorate General for Research of the European Commission, by the Sixth Framework Network of Excellence CLIOHRES.net under the contract CIT3-CT-2005-006164.

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Published by Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press

Lungarno Pacinotti, 43

56126 Pisa

Tel. 050 2212056 – Fax 050 2212945

info.plus@adm.unipi.it

www.edizioniplus.it - Section "Biblioteca"

Member of



Association of American
University Presses

ISBN: 978-88-8492-652-4

Linguistic revision

Kieran Hoare, Rhys Morgan, Gerald Power

Informatic editing

Răzvan Adrian Marinescu

Regional History in Austria, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain

JEAN-FRANÇOIS BERDAH

University of Toulouse II – Le Mirail

RAINGARD EßER

University of the West of England, Bristol

MARTIN MOLL

Karl-Franzens-University, Graz

ANNA MARIA PULT QUAGLIA

University of Pisa

ABSTRACT

The rise of regional history has been an important development in recent historiography, particularly since the recognition by the European Union of a “Europe of Regions”, and the increased importance of regional political structures in many Western European countries. Nevertheless, as this chapter argues, regional history has a deep-rooted tradition in European historiography, stretching back to early modern times. In Austria, regional history or *Landesgeschichte* – roughly translated as provincial history – reaches back as early as the 18th century. *Landesgeschichte* was primarily promoted by representatives of the crown-lands (though there was also input from the centre), who aimed to collect all available historical, geographic, economic and religious data pertaining to particular provinces. Because of this, *Landesgeschichte* in Austria was always strongly multi-disciplinary, exploiting – among others – the methods of jurisprudence, geography, geology, anthropology and economics. In the same way, Italy’s regional historiography until the Unification (1861) was shaped by the existence of separate Italian states. Well into the 19th century “regional histories” dealt with political, administrative and economic aspects of those states. When the territory controlled by a specific state coincided with a region, or at least with a large part of one – as in the cases of the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice or the grand duchy of Tuscany – there were “regional histories”; but in reality these were histories of political entities, not of “regions” per se¹. On the whole the “Risorgimento” gave an impetus to a search for a common Italian “identity”, and accorded a privileged role to the age of the communal states and the history of Italian city-states.

Yet this pattern was not mirrored throughout the western part of continent. In some cases political developments promoted the emergence of a national historiography which stifled the regional approach. France is an example. For more than two centuries the Jacobin tradition inherited from the French Revolution fostered the notion of a centralised state and a single French nation. “One and indivisible”, according to the proclamation made by the Convention on 25 September 1792, the French Republic aimed to create a new society united by the same democratic faith and the same language. It was a vision that has been supported since the early 19th century by a diverse range of historians, including François Guizot, Jules Michelet, Adolphe Thiers, Edgar Quinet and Louis Blanc². With the lasting triumph of the Republican regime in 1875, French history had to contribute to the “fundamental task” of restoring France’s “unity and moral strength”, especially after the traumatic defeat of 1870. According to Gabriel Monod, founder of the “Revue historique” in 1876, the main objective of French historiography was “to arouse in the soul of the nation the consciousness of itself through the thorough knowledge of her history”³. In many ways, the experience of Spain is similar⁴. After centuries of political fragmentation, the 19th-century Spanish state began a rapid centralisation process, leading to tensions between “national” and “regional” agendas⁵. In the case of the Netherlands, perspectives on regionalism in Dutch historiography have traditionally been overshadowed by a discussion of what historians of the Northern Netherlands have labelled the Dutch Revolt, or the Eighty Years’ War (1572-1648), as this period is now more commonly called. From the 16th century onwards, the master narrative of the United Provinces’ political (and economic) success-story, as presented by contemporary commentators and historians such as Emmanuel van Meteren or Pieter Christaenszoon Bor, was based on a vision of unity which was itself founded on the three key motives of freedom, religion and commerce⁶. As a consequence, the rich literature on regions and provinces in the Dutch Republic which blossomed in the 17th century alongside the narratives of the revolt has, until recently, largely been ignored and belittled as amateur antiquarian research. The exception to this trend is Holland, as it is portrayed as having played a key role in the nation-building process⁷. This tendency was mirrored in Belgian historiography. The works of Henri Pirenne (1862-1935), especially his magisterial survey, *Histoire de Belgique*, traced a continuous Belgian state from medieval times to modernity⁸. Ultimately, neither the southern nor the northern version of a perceived national identity left room for dissenting voices or regional variations. Moreover, the historiographic interest in state formation in the early modern period in the 1970s and 1980s served only to maintain scholars’ focus on the great “national” texts of the period at the expense of provincial sources and perspectives⁹.

These two specific trends in historiography did not signify, even in strong nation-states like France, that regional studies were completely sidelined. In fact, as Charles-Olivier Carbonell pointed out in 1976, in the early decades of the Third Republic, regional history accounted for more than twenty percent of historical production¹⁰. However, it is

true that many of these titles were specialised monographs written by local antiquaries like Augustin Fabre, who published his *Histoire de Provence* in 1834, or Pierre-Antoine-Noël-Bruno Daru, who published his *Histoire de Bretagne* in 1826¹¹. A similar situation can be observed in 19th-century Austria, where regional history was predominantly the domain of historical societies. The research of archivists and schoolteachers seldom, if ever, transgressed the borders of their respective *Heimat*. The extent of cooperation with university history departments varied from province to province but as a rule remained low. Up to World War II only the University of Innsbruck had a chair for *Landesgeschichte*¹². Since the 19th century attempts to professionalize Austrian regional history and to give it a more scientific basis have made limited progress. In Spain, where provincial identity was keenly felt, local and regional history – particularly in independent-minded provinces like Catalonia, Navarre and the Basque Country – remained strong in the 19th century¹³. Not surprisingly, in the context of national unification, Italy experienced the opposite trend. Following the foundation in Turin in 1833 of the *Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria* (Sub-Alpine Deputation of Fatherland History), other regional *Deputazioni* emerged. Their work included history writing and publishing sources: the overarching aim was to show that Italian regions had common origins, which therefore validated the Unification process.

During the 20th century regional historiography experienced considerable variation in Western Europe due to the important territorial and political changes that affected most of the countries after the First World War. This is particularly obvious in the Austrian and Italian cases. The disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 gave birth to a number of nation-states from which Austria became one of the smallest but also one of the most uniform in ethnic and linguistic terms. Paradoxically, until the 1980s the focus of Austrian regional historians continued to centre on administrative units: the former Habsburg crown-lands and the present-day *Bundesländer* (i.e. provinces, like the Tyrol, or Salzburg). Scholarly interest in these territories – exceeding what can be observed in the rest of Europe – is not surprising: some exceptions aside, the crown-lands have displayed a striking degree of stability and continuity since the high middle ages, thereby allowing their respective inhabitants to develop and maintain a strong and lasting tradition of regional identity and self-confidence. Perhaps this is the reason why the rather homogenous situation described above coincided and still coincides with confusion in terminology, particularly when one ventures to translate German terms into English – for instance *Landesgeschichte*, but accompanied in German by phrases like territorial history, regional history, local history, the history of *Heimat*, applied history, historical research into the cultural space and so on¹⁴. For Italy, the First World War brought about the consolidation of the national territory and the integration of new regions like South-Tyrol (or Alto-Adige) and Istria¹⁵. Yet the ‘marred victory’ (*vittoria mutilata*) following the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919 only made the state’s task of confronting the peninsula’s diverse regional make-up more urgent. As Lucio Gambi¹⁶ has shown, the

post-unification state subdivided the national territory into compartments according to geographic, historical or economic criteria. What is important, however, is that neither the “Risorgimento” nor the fascist regime of Mussolini succeeded in curbing local identification with the “small fatherland” (*piccola patria*): in fact the 1947 Constitution referred to “regions”, and devolved degrees of local autonomy to them¹⁷.

France and Spain did not go through major changes in the first half of the 20th century with regard to regional history. In France, the lasting influence of Jacobinism and the emphasis placed on distinguishing the national community from *others* (especially Germans) was promoted by academic and official historians at least until 1914. With some exceptions¹⁸, national history ignored regional historiography, considering that neither regional, linguistic nor social differences should distinguish French citizens from each other¹⁹. From its foundation in the 1920s the “Annales” school expressed profound doubts about the pertinence of the regional perspective. For Lucien Febvre, “the framework of research is not, it cannot be in any way, the region. The true framework of research is the problem”²⁰. It was not until the end of the Second World War, and more precisely in 1948, when the centenary of the Second Republic was commemorated, that regional history became a more acceptable topic. In spite of the profound local and regional senses of identity, and the problem of multiple ideas of Spanishness, the national historical agenda promoted by the Spanish state was not seriously challenged until the early 1900s²¹. But then the dictatorships of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) and the subsequent Franco regime confirmed the ascendancy of the national perspective until the mid-1970s²². Until the academic changes of that decade brought about by the transition to democracy, regional history was clearly a victim of the “vicissitudes of Spanish historiography”²³. Removed from the historiographical revolution that was taking place elsewhere in Europe and in the United States²⁴, Spanish historiography was somewhat stultified and conservative²⁵. What passed for regional history in textbooks propagated the hoary myth of the “civilising” destiny of Castile – divinely ordained to be “the unifying mother of all people and Spanish states”²⁶. When, during the Franco regime, the regional perspective was tolerated, it was done in the service of the state²⁷. In Belgium and the Netherlands the existence of distinct interpretations of Dutch history offered few opportunities to move beyond the national perspective. Scholars like Pieter Geyl, who challenged the existence of two separate national identities at the beginning of the Revolt, were in the minority²⁸. In fact, reeling from the shock of war and occupation (and collaboration), historians in both states were unable to abandon the unifying myths that had dominated historiography since the Eighty Years’ War.

When we compare the evolution of regional historiography in Western Europe, at least for the countries considered here, it is not until the post-war period (and especially the 1970s) that a sea-change becomes evident. In France, for instance, the combination of state decentralisation and historical reappraisal associated with the *Nouvelle Histoire* movement of the 1950s and 1960s played a major part in reintroducing the region

as “a necessary framework for innovative research”. The introduction of sociological and anthropological methods encouraged historians to undertake minute analyses of smaller territorial units over long time periods²⁹. Historical anthropology in particular, helped to bring about a revival of the Enlightenment preoccupation with defining the individual characteristics of provinces or counties by studying popular behaviour and practices³⁰. A further impulse towards regional history was given by the administrative reforms of 1968, which saw the number of universities and research institutes rise, while local and departmental archives were rejuvenated. At the same time, against the background of the neo-rural movement and criticism of state centralism, the tradition of local academic circles (*sociétés savantes*) experienced an impressive revival in the following years³¹. The augmentation of older regional periodicals (including the “*Annales du Midi*” (1889), the “*Annales de Bretagne*” (1886), and the “*Annales de Bourgogne*” (1929)) with newer titles, including “1848” (1949), the “*Annales de Normandie*” (1951), the “*Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer*” (1959), are other signs of what Michel Denis has called “the revenge of the province”³². In fact, as Pierre George underlined in 1977, “universities alone cannot assume responsibility for local and regional research” and need to cooperate with antiquarians and *sociétés savantes*³³. An important example of the serious attitude of French academia to regional history is the *Univers de la France* series. Founded in Toulouse by the medievalist Philippe Wolff with the Privat publishing house, since the 1970s it has produced more than 110 volumes on urban and regional history – both within and outside of French borders³⁴. The vitality of this collection is reflected in recent revised versions of certain titles, incorporating new research and maintaining their high standards as reference books³⁵.

Only in the 1970s, after publishing an important six-volume general *Storia d’Italia*, did the Turin-based Einaudi publishing house³⁶, undertake a major regional project. The numerous volumes (published from 1977 to 2002)³⁷, treat the regions individually from 1860 to the post-war period. Each volume was entrusted to a specialised team, and, although the series had overarching themes, the volumes also confronted regional peculiarities. However, it should be underlined that individual “communities” were also studied during the 1970s and 1980s. Often influenced by social anthropology or the “*Annales*” school, historians researched the demographic, economic and social history of localities. Some historians insisted that the study of the small community was the only way of understanding economic and political realities in larger territories³⁸. So-called “microhistory”, however, takes a different approach. According to its leading practitioner, Edoardo Grendi³⁹, historical knowledge should be augmented by topographical, and even botanical and agronomic, data in order to gain a true understanding of local society. Thus, Grendi’s vision of local history is far removed from the numerous local antiquarian “*Bollettini storici*”, published in great numbers throughout the 20th century, whose relationship to mainstream academic history has long been debated. On this question, historians have taken contrasting positions: on the one hand, there

are those who hold that there are no relevant differences between the themes, methods and sources used for local and for general history; on the other, there are those who judge local historians negatively, accusing them of lacking a methodological base and of producing old-fashioned antiquarian works⁴⁰.

In Spain, historical development was stymied by the dictatorship of Franco; after his death, however, a deep split emerged in historiography between supporters and critics of the regime⁴¹. Spanish historiography experienced rapid and deep changes in the 1980s, especially in the field of local and regional studies. Universities, local authorities, and public and private institutions encouraged the participation in history of “local scholars”, a move which has been characterised as the “de-professionalization of history” in Spain⁴². The Spanish Constitution of 1978 also encouraged regional history. It devolved certain powers to “provinces with common historic, cultural and economic characteristics, insular territories and provinces with a historic regional status”, including authority to promote “culture and research and, where applicable, the teaching of the self-governing community’s language”⁴³. The establishment of autonomous regions between 1979 and 1983 played a key role in the creation of numerous research centres in local or regional history. In Catalonia alone more than sixty were created or strengthened around 1980, starting with history faculties and research centres at the three Barcelona universities⁴⁴.

In Austria regional history remained important. Until the 1970s, Austrian *Landesgeschichte* typically focused on the middle ages, particularly on the emergence and consolidation of royal power. The best known example, Otto Brunner’s *Land und Herrschaft*, first published in 1939, generated international debate among medievalists⁴⁵. Since the 1970s the duopoly of the medieval and early modern periods has been broken. The first half of the 20th century – especially the period of Nazi rule – as well the prehistoric period have recently come to the fore. Exploiting oral testimony in addition to more conventional sources, regional history has become much more open and multilayered. Regional history has also maintained its status as a preserver of links with ancient provinces, a role which became more important after Austria’s entry into the European Union in 1995. With increased publicity – and funding from Brussels – being accorded to “Euroregions”, history has played a part in identifying such territories on the grounds of historical integrity. As far as Austria’s neighbours to the south, east and north are concerned, such an argument is always at hand: regions or provinces on both sides of the current international borders were parts of the Habsburg monarchy until 1918. Ironically, the Tyrol region – separated according to the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919 – is undergoing a kind of reunification as a Euroregion. East of the Tyrol, a similar phenomenon of “region-building” is taking place in parts of Carinthia and Styria, ceded respectively to Italy and Yugoslavia in 1919⁴⁶. Thus, regional history in Austria has remained somewhat static in terms of methodology and conception. It was possible for

regional historians in Austria to trace a continuity of approach and focus that was only interrupted temporarily by the “abnormal” political situation between 1920 and 1990.

In response to the EU’s “Europe of the Regions” programme, the Netherlands has also seen a growth in regional history. Ambitious projects have been launched reflecting a new-found academic and public interest in regional history. The *Het Valkhof* museum opened in 1999, and is dedicated to the history of Nijmegen and the province of Gelderland; Venlo’s *Limburgs Museum* opened in 2000. Meanwhile, eminent historians such as Willem Frijhoff have called for a more regional perspective on the history of the – sometimes not so – United Provinces. Frijhoff has suggested that researchers should step out of the shadow of a master narrative written through the prism of the mighty province Holland and, in particular, of the metropolis Amsterdam⁴⁷. Only recently have studies of both the rhetoric of difference (in its various guises), and the contributions of other regions to a Dutch master narrative, started to appear⁴⁸. Diversity, rather than unity, seems to be the current watchword in Dutch historiography. Historians are highlighting the cultural, political and social differences within the Low Countries since the middle ages and throughout the Eighty Years War, and showing that union was by no means a certainty⁴⁹. At the same time cross-border initiatives such as recently completed research project, “Centralization or Particularism? The Development of National Identities in the Low Countries (1250-1585)” at Leiden University, addresses questions of regional identity in the medieval Netherlands through case studies of medieval Gelderland and Brabant. Robert Stein, leading researcher of the project, has convincingly argued that dividing lines did not run along the horizontal directions of today’s border between the Netherlands and Belgium. He and other academics see the historical and economic divisions between centre-provinces such as Holland, Zeeland, Flanders, Brabant and the Hennegouw on the one hand, and peripheries in the south and in the east on the other, as more prominent markers of identity in the Low Countries. The division into the Netherlands and Belgium is, in their view, predominantly the result of warfare and changing fortunes on the battlefield. Regions in this interpretation are based on common or comparable economies and a common history rather than on linguistic or “ethnic” parameters⁵⁰.

Today even its most fervent critics would not deny the place of regional history in France. Fernand Braudel, in his last major work, *L’identité de la France*, castigated scholars for emphasising French unity rather than diversity⁵¹. In recent years local and regional authorities have shown an increasing interest in heritage and history, while various interest groups have lobbied for their stories to be told. The so-called “new social demand” (*nouvelle demande sociale*) has led to spotlights being trained on such thorny issues as political attitudes of the people of Brittany during the Second World War⁵²; and the fate of Spanish republicans in France after the Civil War and their contribution to the Liberation of France in 1944-5⁵³. Though often very positive⁵⁴, the commitment of regions and departments to commemoration of historical events has also deepened

polarisation on some issues, such as the Resistance, the treatment of Jews, the role of Communism, and the colonialism debate⁵⁵. Across the Pyrenees, local and regional history blossomed in the years following the end of the Franco regime. Official support for regional history came from local authorities including the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, the *Xunta de Galicia* and the Basque government. Although some institutions, such as the *Eusko Ikaskuntza* (“Society of Basque Studies”) had been established as far back as 1918, new initiatives were also founded, including the *Institut d’Estudis Catalans* and the *Sociedad de Estudios Históricos de Navarra* founded in 1983 and 1986 respectively. More surprisingly, similar phenomena occurred in areas with far less linguistic or historical cohesion, and where, furthermore, there were no calls for autonomous status. As Guy Hermet notes, communities have begun to “invent a history”⁵⁶.

There is no doubt that regional historiography has made a substantial contribution to the reappraisal of important issues, such as the relationships between territory and power, culture, and religion. In Italy, the research project *Identità urbana in Toscana* was carried out in the 1990s, under the direction of Stuart Woolf, by the European University Institute and the Tuscany Region. It aimed at analysing long-term developments in social behaviour and mentalities in small urban centres in Tuscany, focusing on the awareness of belonging to a community, on distinctive economic and social practices, and on how space was defined⁵⁷. There is a debate on the usefulness of the region as a unit of research in Italy. While regions are perhaps too large for minute research on specific problems, there is a growing awareness that smaller case studies require wider contextualisation. Over the past thirty years, local and regional history has thrived in Spain; and it may be argued that regional history has reached a maturity that surpasses that of Spanish national history. As Maria Jesús Cava Mesa has noted with regard to Basque historiography⁵⁸, recent decades have seen the emergence of a dynamic school of worldwide renown, thanks to historians like Javier Corcuera, Antonio Elorza, Juan Pablo Fusi, Francisco Letamendia⁵⁹, a pattern that may be repeated in Catalonia, Andalusia or Aragon⁶⁰. As a result, “Spain as frame of historiographical investigation, of reflection and synthesis, has almost disappeared among professional historians”⁶¹. Much recent research has concentrated on political, social and economic aspects of the 1900 to 1939 period, stressing the importance of the Second Republic in the shaping of regional/national identity⁶². Accordingly, the early 19th century and the Franco era after the Second World War were somewhat neglected until the 1990s⁶³; this trend may be explained in the case of Navarre as of anywhere else by the huge interest in contemporary history and above all the necessity to analyse “the configuration of the identity ethos and of collective identity”⁶⁴. After two centuries of criticism regional history is now considered as one of the most active fields of research in France. Consequently the old conflict between the centre and the periphery seems to be confined to past quarrels⁶⁵. A partial renaissance of regional languages in Brittany, Alsace and Corsica has also fostered the re-emergence of old identities. The publication of a

Histoire de France des régions by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie in 2001 encapsulates the pacified relationship between the State and the provinces and the success in the long term of national integration in spite of sporadic “resistance” in Corsica or in the Basque Country⁶⁶. In Austria there is dissent over the issue of whether *Landesgeschichte* and regional history have merged into a single, modernized approach. While some historians answer this question affirmatively, others insist that *Landesgeschichte* remains bound to the political borders of space, while regional history “creates its own borders through the questions asked”⁶⁷. With such uncertainty in mind it is perhaps understandable that appeals for the recognition of comparative *Landesgeschichte* as the most advanced approach have not met with much success. But even if this were to change, it is highly likely that, within the foreseeable future, the focus of scholarly research will remain on political-administrative units. It is thus more a linguistic camouflage than proof of a new and advanced methodological concept when the term *Landes- und Regionalgeschichte* (provincial and regional history) currently enjoys high popularity. This may be another typical Austrian compromise rather than a creative solution to a pressing problem. With regard to the Netherlands, further studies of a similar kind can be expected in the future. It remains to be seen, however, whether and how recent events in the Netherlands – such as the murders of the politician, Pim Fortuyn, and the film maker, Theo van Gogh, which re-ignited a debate on a Dutch *Leitkultur* – will influence the paradigm of diversity in unity which has been so prominent in recent years.

NOTES

- ¹ Cf., for example, F. Chabod, *Lo Stato di Milano nell'Impero di Carlo V*, Milan 1934; *Storia d'Italia*, Turin 1976-1994, vols. 8-18, directed by G. Galasso and pertaining to the pre-Unification Italian states; Id., *Introduzione. L'Italia come problema storiografico*, Turin 1976; Id., *Economia e società nella Calabria del Cinquecento*, Naples 1967.
- ² See J.-M. Bizière, P. Vayssière, *Histoire et historiens. Antiquité, Moyen Âge, France moderne et contemporaine*, Paris 1995, pp. 131-139; C. Delacroix, F. Dosse, P. Garcia, *Les courants historiques en France, XIXe-XXe siècle*, Paris 2005, 2007, pp. 74-95.
- ³ Quoted in G. Bourdé, H. Martin, *Les écoles historiques*, Paris 1983, p. 187.
- ⁴ J.P. Fusi, *España. La evolución de la identidad nacional*, Madrid 2000, p. 18.
- ⁵ V. Vázquez de Prada, *Los comienzos del centralismo en España. Un problema a replantear por la historiografía*, in “Posibilidades y límites de una historiografía nacional. Actas del Simposio Germano-Español de Madrid”, Madrid 1984, pp. 191-213.
- ⁶ See, for instance, E. van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie van onze tijden*, Delft 1599; P. Christiaenszoon Bor, *Oorspronck, begin ende aenvang der Nederlantscher Oorlogen, beroerten ende burgerlijcke oneenicheyden. Waarachtighe ende historische beschrijvinge*, Utrecht 1595.
- ⁷ See, for instance, A. van Slichtenhorst, *XIV Boeken van de Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Arnhem 1654; J. Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge van eenige Vergetene en Verborgene Antiquiteten Der Provintien en Landen. Gelegen tusschen de Noord-Zee, de Yssel, Emse en Lippe*, Amsterdam 1660.
- ⁸ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 7 vols., Brussels 1900-1932.

- ⁹ For traditional interpretations of Holland's dominance, see, for instance, E.H. Kossmann, *The Dutch case: a national or a regional culture?*, in "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", 1979, 5th series, 29, pp. 155-168.
- ¹⁰ C.-O. Carbonell, *Histoire et historiens, une mutation idéologique des historiens français, 1865-1885*, Toulouse 1976, pp. 127-134.
- ¹¹ See also Municipal Archives of Reims, *La Chronique de Champagne*, Reims 1837; F. Ragon, *Précis de l'histoire de Bourgogne et de Franche-comté*, Paris 1833; J.-F. Aufschlager, *L'Alsace. Historique et topographique des deux départements du Rhin*, Strasbourg 1826.
- ¹² G. Oberkofler, *Die geschichtlichen Fächer an der Universität Innsbruck 1850-1945*, Innsbruck 1969, pp. 147ff.
- ¹³ Fusi, *España* cit., pp. 168-169.
- ¹⁴ L. Schorn-Schütte, *Territorialgeschichte – Provinzialgeschichte – Landesgeschichte – Regionalgeschichte. Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Landesgeschichtsschreibung*, in *Civitatium communitas. Studien zum europäischen Städtewesen. Festschrift Heinz Stoob zum 65. Geburtstag*, Cologne - Vienna 1984, pp. 390-416.
- ¹⁵ See R. Steininger, *South Tyrol. A minority conflict of the twentieth century*, London 2003.
- ¹⁶ L. Gambi, *Le "regioni" negli stati preunitari*, in "Rivista Storica Italiana", 1980, 92, pp. 885-901; Id., *L'invenzione delle regioni italiane*, in M. Bellabarba, R. Stauber (eds.), *Identità territoriali e cultura politica nella prima età moderna/Territoriale Identität und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Bologna - Berlin 1998, pp. 375-380.
- ¹⁷ Foreseen by the new Constitution, the legislation on regional self-government was actually enacted in 1970.
- ¹⁸ The new geographic school founded by Paul Vidal de La Blache in the 1890s demonstrated a very different attitude towards the regional approach. Contrary to the situation in history, a number of theses were defended at the turn of the 20th century, for example Albert Demangeon on Northern France (*La plaine picarde: Picardie, Artois, Cambrésis, Beauvaisis. Étude de géographie sur les plaines de craie du nord de la France*) in 1905 or Jules Sion on Normandy (*Les paysans de la Normandie orientale. Pays de Caux, Bray, Vexin normand, Vallée de la Seine*) in 1909.
- ¹⁹ See P. Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. I, Paris 1997, pp. 851-902.
- ²⁰ Quoted in R. Baehrel, *Prix, superficies, statistique, croissances*, in "Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales", 1961, 16, p. 699. Paradoxically Lucien Febvre's 1911 PhD thesis was a regional study, *Philippe II et la France-Comté*; a year later he published a *Histoire de la France-Comté*.
- ²¹ É. Témime, A. Broder, G. Chastagnaret, *Histoire de l'Espagne contemporaine*, Paris 1979, pp. 133-139.
- ²² José María Peman, one of the regime's ideologists, wrote in 1939: "The life of Spain has been like a drama split into three acts. In the first, Spain made herself and formed a Fatherland by conquest. [...] In the second, this unity, already strong and sure of itself, spread over the world and became great. In the third, Spain had to defend this unity and greatness that she had obtained against all the enemies who attacked her. This was the epoch of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Spain had to finish her battle against the religious revolution, against which it had fought already in previous epochs; then against the red revolution that is firstly political and finally social." Quoted in F. Wulff, *Las esencias patrias. Historiografía e historia Antigua en la construcción de la identidad española (siglos XVI-XX)*, Barcelona 2003, p. 230.
- ²³ C. Barros, *Inacabada transición de la historiografía española*, in "Bulletin d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Espagne", 1996, 24, p. 471.
- ²⁴ Apart from the professors and students who left Franco's Spain for France, England or Mexico, like Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz or Américo Castro. See J.L. Abellan, J.M. Balcells, J.A. Pérez Bowie, *El exilio cultural de la guerra civil (1936-1939)*, Salamanca 2001; G. Dreyfus-Ar-

- mand, *L'exil des républicains espagnols en France. De la Guerre civile à la mort de Franco*, Paris 1999; "Bulletin d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Espagne", *Dedicado a Manuel Tuñón de Lara*, 1997, 26.
- ²⁵ See G. Pasamar Alzuria, *La profesión de historiador en su perspectiva histórica: principales problemas de investigación*, in "Bulletin d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Espagne", 1995, 21, pp. 64-72; I. San Martín, *Nuevas tendencias en la historiografía española*, in "Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos", 2007, 120, pp. 308-312.
- ²⁶ Quoted in P. Pujau, *L'Histoire de l'Espagne à travers les manuels scolaires franquistes (1939-1975)*, Master's thesis supervised by J.-F. Berdah, University of Toulouse II-Le Mirail 2005, p. 85.
- ²⁷ See M.Á. Marín Gelabert, *Los historiadores españoles en el franquismo, 1948-1975: la historia local al servicio de la patria*, Zaragoza 2005.
- ²⁸ P. Geyl, *The revolt of the Netherlands, 1555-1609*, London 1932.
- ²⁹ J. Le Goff, *La nouvelle histoire*, Brussels 1978, 2006, p. 184.
- ³⁰ See for example E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village Occitan de 1294 à 1324*, Paris 1975; P. Ariès, *Histoire des populations françaises et de leurs attitudes devant la vie depuis le XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1948; Id., *L'Homme devant la mort*, Paris 1977. See also M. Vovelle, *Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1978.
- ³¹ T. Gasnier, *Le local. Une et divisible*, in Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire* cit., vol. II, pp. 3423-3477.
- ³² M. Denis, *L'approche régionale*, in F. Bédarida, M. Aymard, Y.M. Bercé, J.-F. Sirinelli (eds.), *L'histoire et le métier d'historien en France 1945-1995*, Paris 1995, p. 189. See also in the same volume N. Rousselier, *Les revues d'histoire*, pp. 127ff.
- ³³ Quoted in J. Jaquart, *Les sociétés savantes*, in Bédarida, Aymard, Bercé, Sirinelli (eds.), *L'histoire et le métier* cit., p. 123.
- ³⁴ A few examples: C. Higounet, *Histoire de l'Aquitaine*, Toulouse 1971; J. Richard, *Histoire de la Bourgogne*, Toulouse 1978; P. Dollinger, *Histoire de l'Alsace*, Toulouse 1984; A. Latreille, *Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais*, Toulouse 1975; P. Guichonnet, *Histoire de Genève*, Toulouse 1978; M. Martens, *Histoire de Bruxelles*, Toulouse 1976; L. Génicot, *Histoire de la Wallonie*, Toulouse 1973; L. Trénard, *Histoire des Pays-Bas français*, Toulouse 1972; J. Nadal Farreras, P. Wollff, *Histoire de la Catalogne*, Toulouse 1982; J. Hamelin, *Histoire du Québec*, Toulouse 1976.
- ³⁵ A good example is M. Taillefer (ed.), *Nouvelle histoire de Toulouse*, Toulouse 2002.
- ³⁶ R. Romano, C. Vivanti (eds.), *Storia d'Italia*, 6 vols., Turin 1972-1976.
- ³⁷ *Storia d'Italia. Le regioni dall'Unità a oggi*, Turin 1977-2002.
- ³⁸ C. Povolo, *Per una storia delle comunità*, in "Annali Veneti. Società. Cultura. Istituzioni", 1984, 1, pp. 11-29; Id., *Lisiera. Immagini, documenti e problemi per la storia e cultura di una comunità veneta. Strutture, congiunture, episodi*, Vicenza 1985; Id. (ed.), *Dueville. Storia e identificazione di una comunità del passato*, Vicenza 1985; M. Cattini, *I contadini di San Felice. Metamorfosi di un mondo rurale nell'Emilia dell'età moderna*, Turin 1984.
- ³⁹ E. Grendi, *Introduzione all'analisi storica delle comunità liguri: Cervo in età moderna*, in *Studi di micro-analisi storica (Piemonte-Liguria secoli XVI-XVIII)*, in "Miscellanea Storica Ligure", 1997, 7, pp. 135-211; Id., *Storia locale e storia delle comunità*, in P. Macry, A. Massafra (eds.), *Fra storia e storiografia. Scritti in onore di Pasquale Villani*, Bologna 1995, pp. 321-336.
- ⁴⁰ C. Violante (ed.), *La storia locale. Temi, fonti e metodi della ricerca*, Bologna 1980.
- ⁴¹ Barros, *Inacabada transición* cit., p. 473.
- ⁴² San Martín, *Nuevas tendencias* cit., p. 309.
- ⁴³ *Spanish Constitution of 1978, Part VIII*; Fusi, *España* cit., pp. 262-266.

- ⁴⁴ J. Planes, *Historiographie récente sur la Catalogne contemporaine*, in “Matériaux pour l’histoire de notre temps”, 1985, 3, pp. 25-27. In fact, the process was complete in 1996 only when the autonomous status of Ceuta and Melilla in Northern Africa was implemented.
- ⁴⁵ O. Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft. Grundfragen der territorialen Verfassungsgeschichte Südostdeutschlands im Mittelalter*, Baden 1939.
- ⁴⁶ A typical publication is a manual or encyclopaedia which was published in German, Slovene and Italian: J. Zontar, U. Cava, P. Dasi, K. Spreitalofer, W. Wadl (eds.), *Handbücher und Karten zur Verwaltungsstruktur in den Ländern Kärnten, Krain, Küstenland und Steiermark bis zum Jahre 1918*, Graz - Klagenfurt - Ljubljana - Gorizia - Trieste 1988. It is worth mentioning that such cross-border contacts among historians were quite common during the Cold War. The only exception to the rule of staying within the former Habsburg realm is the province of Vorarlberg and the surrounding region of Lake Constance.
- ⁴⁷ Communication with Professor Willem Friijhoff at the roundtable discussion at the Low Countries Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London, 5 May 2006. Friijhoff has published a history of Zutphen, *Geschiedenis van Zutphen*, Zutphen 1989, and, in recent years, essays and articles on Gelderland. See, for instance, his *Gelderlandgevoel vroeger en nu*, in I.D. Jacobs (ed.), *Geschiedenis, Kunst en Cultuur tussen Maas, Rijn en IJssel. Het Hertogdom Gelre*, Utrecht 2003, pp. 494-583. In spite of his appeal, however, he has also co-edited the new, multi-volume history of Amsterdam: W. Friijhoff, M. Prak (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2.I: *Centrum van de wereld, 1578-1650*, Amsterdam 2004; Id., *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2. II: *Zelfbewuste stadstaat, 1650-1813*, Amsterdam 2005.
- ⁴⁸ J. Pollmann, A. Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Leiden 2007.
- ⁴⁹ On identity in the pre-Revolt Low Countries see A. Duke, *The elusive Netherlands. The question of national identity in the early modern Low Countries on the eve of the Revolt*, in “Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden”, 2004, 119, pp.10-35.
- ⁵⁰ <http://www.nieuws.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=&c=1495>; D.J. Dacre Boulton, J. A. Veenstra (eds.), *The ideology of Burgundy: the promotion of national consciousness, 1364-1565*, Leiden 2006; Pollmann, Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion* cit. See also S. Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum 2001, Introduction.
- ⁵¹ F. Braudel, *L’identité de la France*, Paris 1986, 1990, p. 35.
- ⁵² C. Bourgeard, *Les usages politiques de l’épuration en Bretagne: histoire, mémoire et identité régionale*, in M. Crivello, P. Garcia, N. Offenstadt (eds.), *Concurrence des passés. Usages politiques du passé dans la France contemporaine*, Aix-en-Provence 2006, pp. 103-110.
- ⁵³ É. Témime, *Les Espagnols dans la Résistance. Revenir aux réalités?*, in J.-M. Guillon, P. Laborie (eds.), *Mémoire et Histoire: la Résistance*, Toulouse 1995, pp. 99-107.
- ⁵⁴ For example, in 2004-2005, when Midi-Pyrénées appointed Michel Taillefer to commemorate Spanish Republicans. See J. Jornet (ed.), *Républicains espagnols en Midi-Pyrénées. Exil, histoire et mémoire*, Toulouse 2004, 2005.
- ⁵⁵ Delacroix, Dosse, Garcia, *Les courants historiques* cit., pp. 562-577.
- ⁵⁶ G. Hermet, *Histoire des nations et du nationalisme en Europe*, Paris 1996, p. 271.
- ⁵⁷ The research project, directed by Stuart Woolf and coordinated by Lucia Carle, author of the concluding volume, *L’identità urbana in Toscana. Aspetti metodologici e sviluppi operative di una ricerca pluridisciplinare XVI-XX secolo*, Venice 1998, gave rise to a number of monographs, one for each of the chosen communities. These were published between 1996 and 1998; the authors were L. Carle (Montalcino), G. Cappelletto (Poppi), I. Chabot (Suvereto), F. Mineccia (Fiesole), R. Pazzagli (Buggiano), P. Pirillo (Pontremoli).

- ⁵⁸ M.J. Cava Mesa, *Spanish and Basque nationalisms*, in G. Hálfðanarson, A.K. Isaacs (eds.), *Nations and nationalities in historical perspective*, Pisa 2001, pp. 94-95.
- ⁵⁹ See for example J. Corcuera Atienza, *Orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco, 1876-1904*, Madrid 1979; A. Elorza, *Las ideologías del nacionalismo vasco, 1876-1904*, San-Sebastian, 1978; J. P. Fusi, *España. Autonomías*, Madrid 1989; F. Letamendia, *Historia de Euskadi: el nacionalismo vasco y ETA*, Barcelona 1977.
- ⁶⁰ See for example B. de Riquer, *Regionalistes i Nacionalistes (1898-1931)*, Barcelona 1979; F. Caudet, *Historia política de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1978; C. Sánchez Albornoz, *Orígenes y destino de Navarra. Trayectoria histórica de Vasconia*, Barcelona 1984; R. Villares, *La propiedad de la tierra en Galicia 1500-1936*, Madrid 1982; M. Tuñón de Lara, *Luchas obreras y campesinas en la Andalucía del siglo XX*, Madrid 1978.
- ⁶¹ Barros, *Inacabada transición* cit., p. 482.
- ⁶² See Planes, *Historiographie* cit. with regard to Catalonia and Cava Mesa, *Spanish* cit., pp. 95-96 for the Basque Country.
- ⁶³ See the proceedings of the important congress dedicated to the Franco regime in 1993 in J. Tusell, S. Sueiro, J.M. Marín, M. Casanova (eds.), *El regimen de Franco (1936-1975). Política y relaciones exteriores*, Madrid 1993. For the example of Navarre, see F. Mikelarena Peña, *La historiografía sobre la Navarra del periodo 1780-1936 del último cuarto de siglo (1980-2003)*, in "Vasconia. Cuadernos de Historia-Geografía", 2005, 34.
- ⁶⁴ F. Mikelarena Peña, *La historiografía sobre la Navarra del periodo 1780-1936 del último cuarto de siglo (1980-2003)*, in "Vasconia. Cuadernos de Historia-Geografía", 2005, 34, p. 364.
- ⁶⁵ See for example, "Parlement[s]", 2005, special edition: *Politique en Aquitaine : Des Girondins à nos jours*.
- ⁶⁶ E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire de France des regions. La périphérie française, des origines à nos jours*, Paris 2001, 2005.
- ⁶⁷ For the former view, see Heilingsetzer, *Landesgeschichte* cit., p. 589. For a more critical view, see E. Hanisch, *Kleine Meditation über Globales und Regionales: Die Landesgeschichte zwischen Mikro- und Makrogeschichte*, in "Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark", 2000/01, 91/92, pp. 41-50. See also R. Stauber, *Regionalgeschichte versus Landesgeschichte? Entwicklung und Bewertung von Konzepten zur Erforschung von "Geschichte in kleinen Räumen"*, in "Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione", 1994, 3, pp. 227-260.

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