

Medieval propaganda, *longue durée* and New History: Towards a nonlinear approach to the history of public relations

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Abstract

This article aims to offer a new perspective of the historical approach to public relations, taking as its basis the work of French medievalist Jacques Le Goff, principal representative of *Nouvelle Histoire* (New History) French historiographical movement. Based on the notions of mentality and *longue durée*, which Le Goff inherited from the *Annales* movement, we propose that a nonlinear approach to the history of public relations will help to extend its time scale back to the beginnings of civilization and overcome the historical boundaries usually established between the prehistory (or proto-history) and the history of public relations as a profession.

Keywords: Historiography; Jacques Le Goff; Medieval propaganda; New History; Public relations.

1. Introduction

According to Bentele (2012), public relations historiography must be embedded within a theoretical framework of social history, national histories, and world history, because the history of public relations cannot be considered independently from different forms and structures of societies, political and economic systems, and the structure of the public sphere. On the other hand, from a perspective uninfluenced by the Habermasian notion of public sphere, some public relations scholars have insinuated different forms of what today is known as public relations in different historical ages: Antiquity (Brown, 2003), Middle Ages (Watson, 2008), and the Early modern period (Heath & Coombs, 2006). This suggests that the perspective introduced by the *Annales* movement may be useful in researching the history of public relations prior to the consolidation of capitalism in its modern form. Indeed, this historiographical movement deals primarily with the pre-modern world, prior to the French Revolution, and shows little interest in later topics.

The *Annales* movement —founded by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch— is a group of French historians associated with a style of historiography developed by French historians in the 20th century. It is named for its scholarly journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, which remains the main source of scholarship, along with many books and monographs. The movement has been highly influential in setting the agenda for historiography in France and numerous other countries, especially regarding historians' use of social scientific methods, and for emphasizing social rather than political or diplomatic themes, well known as the history of mentalities (*histoire des mentalités*) approach. On the other hand, the New History movement (*Nouvelle Histoire* in French), is the historiographical trend launched by Jacques Le Goff and

Pierre Nora, corresponding to the *third generation* of the *Annales* movement, which first appeared in the 1970s.

New History is a variant of the history of mentalities established by the founders of the *Annales*. It attempts to establish a history of societies' collective representations and mental structures. These historians undertook the task of globally analyzing very vast systems which are coherent in their social and economic organization and covered by a system of homogeneous representations. From this methodological perspective, the field of history is expanded, and interest is increased in long-term (*longue durée*) phenomena. Concurrently, New History is also concerned with historical anthropology.

This way of writing history follows the Fernand Braudel's (1902-1985) *global history* approach. Unlike nineteenth-century historiography—which focuses on *great men*—the interest of Braudel—leader of the second generation of *Annales* historians—lies in studying the vast majority of the population of historical societies, that is, this French historian is concerned with *longue durée* phenomena (Braudel, 1958).

Braudel was one of the great historians of the twentieth century. He published his great work on *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World of Philip II* in 1949. As MacFarlane (1996) pointed out: “The outcome of his work is indeed impressive”. Indeed, Lucien Febvre described Braudel's work on Mediterranean as “this perfect historical work...more than a professional masterpiece. A revolution in the way of conceiving of history...” (quoted in Hexter, 1986, p. 111). For Peter Burke (1990), “it has a good claim to be regarded as the most important work of history of the century... his contribution to the renewal of historical studies in our time was greater than that of

either Marc Bloch or Lucien Febvre, and possibly greater than that of the two scholars together” (p. 26).

Metaphors appear throughout Braudel’s work, and they particularly cluster around the idea of levels of time. This theory is based on the idea that different historical processes operate at different temporal rhythms or levels. Consequently, there are three levels of times:

- *Structure - longue durée* — thousands of years; geological time; geography, culture etc. (for example long-term climatic changes).
- *Conjoncture - moyenne durée* — decades or hundreds of years; economic and social time (for example the Industrial Revolution).
- *Evènement - courte durée* (short term) — days, weeks, a year; political and diplomatic time (for example the Battle of Lepanto).

Three metaphors represent these 'levels'. The first is the ocean - the deep, unmoving water; the second is the slow movement of the tides; the third the froth of the waves. Thus, in a famous image, he described events as mere “crests of foam which the tides of history carry on their strong backs”. A second metaphor is geological: the deep rocks, the middle soils, the surface stones and flora and fauna. A third metaphor is architectural, a building with floors or levels.

The *longue durée* represents Braudel’s most significant innovation in temporal categorization. This level describes "man in his relationship with the environment” (Braudel, 1958, p. 25), a history in which all changes are slow — a history of constant repetition.

The *longue durée* notion strongly influenced all European historiography from the second half of the 20th century. Specifically, it was Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, the leaders of the third generation of the *Annales*, who developed and applied this division of time levels in their research, basing their historical analyses on Braudel's historical rhythms. This third generation is also characterized by the updating of the concept of mentality.

While Nora has focused his research on the collective memory (Dosse, 2011), Le Goff is a world-renowned 20th-century medievalist and an eminent scholar of propaganda in the Middle Ages (Rubin 1997). The purpose of this paper is to analyze how the contributions of Jacques Le Goff—and, by extension, the New History movement he led— can help develop public relations historiography.

2. Jacques Le Goff and medieval propaganda

Le Goff is considered an influential social and cultural historian of the Middle Ages. In line with the third generation of the *Annales* movement, his work focuses principally on the history of mentalities in the Middle Ages, though it ranges from antiquity to the present (Dover, 2010).

Influenced by French structuralism (1960s-1970s), Le Goff developed a wide-ranging model of historical research in which “the approach is more important than the material, and any source can be useful” (Le Goff, 2010, p. 50). It expanded the historian's field with new topics and questions that explored hitherto unexploited areas of human behavior and social groups such as banking, merchants, teachers, academic expenses,

and dreams. Combining Marc Bloch's idea that technological change was related to collective psychology and Fernand Braudel's notion that mental structures changed at a slower pace than material structures over the *longue durée*, Le Goff (2004) reclassified the Middle Ages as a long pre-industrial period (2nd century to the mid-19th century), whose cultural and mental structures have not yet vanished entirely.

In the 1970s-80s, using the anthropological notion that perception, values, and experience are culturally constructed, he explored the collective psychology of medieval social groups with concepts such as gestures, images, myth, representation, imagination, and sensibility, aiming to reconstruct the ways of thinking and feeling of medieval people (Dover, 2010).

From a public relations perspective, Le Goff (1994) considers the history of propaganda to be part of social history, cultural history, the history of the imaginary and the history of the symbolic, without which "a true political history is not possible" (p. 519).

Although true propaganda institutions did exist in the Middle Ages, such as the chancelleries, preaching (not necessarily religious), orators, or, among others, the heralds of arms, this period should be considered as "pre-propagandist or of diffuse propaganda" (Le Goff, 1994, p. 520). Thus, studying medieval propaganda means accepting a typology of forms with no clear boundaries, given that among these forms we also find the chronicles of the historians of the age, which were also instruments of persuasion.

Jacques Le Goff established the main features of medieval propaganda within the context of the history of mentalities (*histoire des mentalités*), of which he was one of the leading lights. The concept of "mentalities" became widely known and gained

historiographical importance during the '70s and '80s thanks to the fact that between 1968 and 1989 publications of the third generation of the *Annales*, led by Le Goff, spread all over the planet, exerting a significant influence on historiography and social science (Burke, 1990). Despite its wide dissemination and popularity, there is no precise and universally accepted definition of either the term "mentality" or the "history of mentalities".

More than designating a well-defined concept, the word "mentality" has been used as a descriptive term to refer to a broad and imprecise field of study that takes in behaviors, everyday gestures, the unconscious, emotions, popular beliefs, forms of consciousness, ideological structures and social imaginary, among many other possible elements. This led to Le Goff himself stating that "the historian of mentalities coincides particularly with the social psychologist. The notions of behavior and attitude are, for both one and the other, essential" (Le Goff & Nora, 1974, p. 731). This statement can be extended to public relations practitioners, who also deal with attitudes and behaviors.

The mentality is defined according to ways of thinking, feeling, imagining and acting consciously or unconsciously, individually or collectively. Thus, human activity, from personal words or gestures to the great acts of a social group, forms part of the field of study addressed by the history of mentalities. Accordingly, propaganda and its effects on publics, information flow throughout history, and reputation building, are included, along with public opinion and many other themes (such as time, space, power, money, justice, body, madness, private life, or death), among the themes found in the history of mentalities and addressed by Jacques Le Goff throughout his works, with close attention paid to social imaginary building (e.g., Le Goff, 1981, 1999).

3. Le Goff's features of medieval propaganda

In this context, information, communication and propaganda are structural elements of the medieval imagination – of the mentalities of the men and women of the Middle Ages. Therefore, the characteristics of medieval propaganda established by Le Goff (1994) respond to an approach to the phenomenon drawing on the history of mentalities.

3.1. *Public and public opinion as medieval institutions*

Le Goff (1994) considers there to have been in the Middle Ages, and particularly between the 13th and 15th centuries, a *public* —in the current sense of audience, rather than public— and a *public opinion*, two terms that designate reactions to propaganda. The French historian argues that these two phenomena, the medieval dynamics of which are yet to be explored, require further in-depth analysis. Thus, he asks why when the French abbot Bernard of Clairvaux preached to an enormous crowd in a field at Vézelay (France) it elicited an enthusiastic response from many crusaders, while his speech was not successful when he was in Paris preaching the abandonment of the city in favor of seclusion in churches.

Furthermore, Le Goff (1994) also calls for further research into the target groups of propaganda and how it is adapted according to these publics. It is often addressed to a "representative minority" (p. 522), as is the case with the *sirventès* (or service song), a genre of Occitan lyric poetry used by troubadours and aimed at an influential social and cultural group in Occitania (Aurell, 1992). In order to better define types of propaganda publics, however, Le Goff (1994) proposes analyzing in more detail the modalities of

how propaganda is delivered: stating, calling for and proclaiming are different forms of communication aimed at different publics.

By contrast with Habermas' theories (1962), Le Goff (1994) suggests that public opinion has existed since the Middle Ages. He considers it a manifestation of the mentalities as seen through a *longue durée* view of history.

3.2. *The origins of black propaganda*

Le Goff (1994) argues that during the thirteenth century the Catholic Church denounced a greater sin widespread throughout Christendom: *fraus* - fraud, deceit, illusion. This sin grew with the emergence of the new market economy (Le Goff, 1980, 2013) and also developed in the field of politics. While in earlier times disputes between the *sacerdotium* and the *imperium* regarding the Gregorian Reforms were based on the belief that each party was within its rights and the argument therefore concerned the truth (*veritas*), from the thirteenth century onwards power was not sought through legitimization of the truth, but through lies. Hence propaganda history shows, in addition to its religious origins, this close link to the lie.

According to this French medievalist, although black propaganda was born in the Middle Ages, propaganda was used for positive ends prior to the 13th century. From this standpoint, some of those activities considered as positive propaganda might be framed within the idea of ethical propaganda (St. John, 2006) or that of weak propaganda (Moloney, 2006) as a public relations form. The *exempla* are one such form.

3.3. *The exempla and the origins of ethical propaganda*

According to St. John (2006), public relations practitioners must analyze and demonstrate the ethical contribution of propaganda in structuring and facilitating dialogue that allows public agreement to be reached and a debate to be entered into that benefits the client, its shareholders and broader democratic society. This idea of ethical propaganda was first developed back in the Middle Ages, despite a lack of the economic and business structures in which public relations is currently practiced.

The significant religious component of medieval propaganda meant that at their core messages often had two values essential to Christianity: justice and peace. Le Goff (1994) has highlighted the existence of a medieval propaganda that clamored for values such as harmony, the common good, and the calming of internal conflict. From this perspective, another form of propaganda coexisted alongside manipulative propaganda in the Middle Ages whose purpose was to exorcise conflict and social and political rupture. This was also a precursor to the vision Bernays (1928) offered of modern propaganda as a form of public relations, “as essential to the management of information” (Weaver *et al.*, 2006).

This idea of ethical propaganda was also present in public life, and was embodied in a series of very specific propaganda tools born out of the Middle Ages, such as the sermon – the genre of persuasion *par excellence*, the *auctoritates* (authorities –texts recognized as being worthy of credit because they gave clear witness to the truth)– aimed at reviving use of the Bible for propaganda purposes, the *rationes* (primordial reasons) and the new ways of thinking that scholastic theology included in propaganda

speeches, and the *exempla*, which found in propaganda a means of using the seduction of stories and storytelling (Le Goff, 1981).

The *exempla* were "the great mass media of the 13th century" (Le Goff, 1981, p. 399). Although for the French historian the sermon was a great means of disseminating the imaginary, sermons are rhetorically constructed through stories and anecdotes (*exempla*, examples) that help preachers legitimize the veracity of their discourse. The sermon "stuffed with *exempla*" (Le Goff, 1981, p. 399) was not only pronounced during the Holy Office; it was also pronounced in churches or public squares, it being a precedent of the conference and the meeting, to the extent that preachers became idols of the Christian masses. Anecdotes of *exempla* were received by the audience "as historical, true" (Le Goff, 1981, p. 311).

3.4. Emotion as a basis of medieval propaganda

"A history of propaganda is a history of sensibility" (Le Goff, 1994, p. 524). Medieval propaganda was "a call to emotion" (p. 524). Indeed, emotion is one of the main sources of propaganda, and one of the foundations of communication in times of the network society, and "the drivers of collective action" (Castells, 2012, p. 134). From a public relations perspective, L'Etang (2008) argues that emotions constitute important capital in the practice of public relations, as it is not possible to manage communication without sensibility.

3.5. Reputation through images and laughter as a propaganda medium

Le Goff (1994) considers propaganda to be an intertextual discourse. One element of this discourse is iconographic, the iconographic image being one of the great channels of medieval propaganda. What is more, images are very present in literary genres – another medium in the discourse of medieval propaganda– such as the *ars dictaminis* –a description of the art of prose composition, and more specifically of the writing of letters–, poetry and, as we have already seen, the *sirventès*. This lyric poetry expanded the field of propaganda to controversial and satirical literature, reaching its peak in the Modern Age.

The case of causing offense via defamatory painting (Ortalli, 1994) has highlighted the crucial importance of *fama* in the Middle Ages. As Le Goff (1994) pointed out, "the authority of propaganda is often based on reputation; attacking the reputation of your opponent is a way of destroying him as a potential propagandist" (p. 525). This satirical propaganda was used by the French medievalist to highlight the importance of laughter as a medium for propaganda (Le Goff, 1999). What better way to discredit the enemy than to laugh at him?

3.6. Memory and history as propaganda mechanisms

According to Le Goff (1982), propaganda uses one of the main foundations of the West: religion. But it is "a historical religion" (Le Goff, 1994, p. 526). History was the great reference point for medieval propaganda, but it was a history full of myths, particularly myths regarding origins, such as the Trojan origins of the kings of France. "It is a manipulated history, steeped in memory, which is the goal and target of propaganda" (Le Goff, 1994, p. 527). This statement is highly original and pioneering, as it opens up

an unexplored territory in public relations: its role of establishing, maintaining or restoring historical memory. As Le Goff (1994) asserts:

"Ultimately, the great target of propaganda, the memory, full of holes and lies, formed by the interests and passions of propagandists, has been the fascinating and deceitful raw material of a history that has the tendency to turn into a huge piece of propaganda" (p. 527).

3.7. Medieval propaganda, social imaginary, and historical anthropology

According to Le Goff (2010), social imaginary is built and thrives on legends, myths. It might be defined as the system of dreams of a society, of a civilization. A system capable of transforming reality into passionate mental imagery. And this is critical to understanding historical processes. History is made by men of flesh and blood, their dreams, their beliefs and their daily needs. Therefore, the construction of the collective imagination is a form of constructing social reality.

Indeed, Le Goff (1999) has shown that medieval imaginary comprised a world with no boundaries between the real and the fantastic, between the natural and the supernatural, between the earthly and the heavenly, between reality and fantasy. One such example is the birth of Purgatory. In this, the spreading of the idea of Purgatory through the sermons of preachers like Jacques de Vitry, Caesar of Heisterbach and Stephen of Bourbon (Le Goff, 1981) was of central importance. These preachers told stories in which they underscored the importance of pronouncements in which the living were entrusted with the soul of those close to them suffering the pains of Purgatory.

As Burguière (2009) points out, according to Jacques Le Goff's thinking, the imaginary forms part of the field of representation, although unlike the latter, which mentally reproduces a perceived external reality, the imaginary is creative and poetic "in the etymological sense" (Le Goff, 1999, p. 423-424). This distinction is crucial because it introduces a creative intermediate stage between the perceived object and the mind of the receiver. This is the stage at which the persuasive communication that Le Goff (1994) considers medieval propaganda intervenes, but it is also a good example of the precedents of modern public relations as a creator of symbolic spaces (Mickey, 1997; Zhang, 2006). From this perspective, the imaginary is a form of perceived image that goes beyond mere representation.

This approach to history is part of a very specific tradition Le Goff developed from 1972 onwards, when he was elected president of EHESS: historical anthropology, "which aims to understand man in history as a whole, body and soul, in his material, biological, emotional and mental life" (Le Goff, 2010, p. 204). The important thing is therefore to vary the sources: in addition to written texts, the historian must recognize the importance of the word and gesture and how these work throughout history. From this perspective, the history of public relations as a means of communication should also be an operation in historical anthropology, in a similar way to Le Goff's research on medieval propaganda addressed in this section.

4. Implications for public relations historiography

As Burguière (2009) suggests, one of the principles of the *Annales* movement — the historiographical school that preceded New History— was that understanding our present and our society requires a methodical and reasoned confrontation with the past.

Indeed, the *Annales*, and especially one of its founders, Marc Bloch, as well as employing traditional methodology, which consisted in following the course of history, added a new one: the march backwards that starts from the present to go back to the past by means of its progressive reconstruction.

A good example of this is found in the study conducted by Bloch (1921) on the role of rumors and false news during the First World War. In this research it was the medievalist who dealt “with the new conditions of information created by the censorship of war as a kind of experimental Middle Ages” (Burguière, 2009, p. 40) to understand the functioning of a society in which oral transmission prevailed. As Ginzburg (1973) argued, the study of *the royal touch* (Bloch, 1924) began to germinate in Bloch's thinking around the time he began to analyze false rumors.

The experience of World War I served the French historians of the *Annales* as a "laboratory for studying the mentalities" (Burguière, 2009, p. 46). Thus, for Bloch (1921), by openly exposing individuals to death, war gives rise to psychological conditions (attitudes and representations) which in times of peace remain much more repressed or masked in our modern societies than they were in the medieval world. In many ways, these new psychological conditions were similar to those of the medieval world, the state of alertness and psychological isolation of men at the front giving the words of the few men who broke this isolation (the news broadcasters) a power of persuasion that also recalled the conditions of the Middle Ages (Bloch, 1921). According to Bloch (1921), beliefs play the dual role of being disturbing and yet providing structure in equal measure — making an entire imaginary occult resurface; they have an emotional power that can unite and strengthen the social bond but also install anguish. Thus, the mentalities are for Bloch (1921) at once a cognitive and an

emotional structure, a system of representations and a receptacle of unconscious images that persuade rather than inform the social actor.

Public relations is a "meaning-construction process through the use of symbols, interactions and interpretations" (Zhang, 2006, p. 27). From this perspective, a historical anthropology approach to public relations history is needed. Furthermore, the history of public relations forms part of the history of mentalities, and can be included in the field of cultural history, a discipline that combines the approaches of anthropology and history to look at popular cultural traditions and cultural interpretations of historical experience, examining the records and narrative descriptions of past knowledge, customs, and arts of a group of people (Burke, 2004).

Mentalities historians approach the mentalities by distinguishing "in customs and their institutionalization the retention, resurgence or processing of very old ideas that may be mixed with much more recent forms of thinking" (Burguière, 2009, p. 90). The elements of medieval propaganda proposed by Le Goff are some of these ideas. Thus, Jacques Le Goff can be considered a public relations historiographer, and his list of characteristics of propaganda constitutes a research agenda for historians of propaganda and public relations.

In his study on the *Annales* movement, Burke (1990) concludes:

"In my own view, the outstanding achievement of the *Annales* group ... has been the reclaiming of vast areas for history. The group has extended the territory of the historian to unexpected areas of human behaviour and to social groups neglected by traditional

historians. These extensions of historical territory are associated... with collaboration with other disciplines” (Burke, p. 10).

The history of public relations should draw upon this interdisciplinary approach to go beyond considering only the history of the profession and use the research methodology of historical anthropology, as the historians we have discussed in this article have done, to further advance research in the history and historiography of the discipline.

5. Conclusions and future research: Towards a nonlinear history of public relations

The work conducted by Jacques Le Goff—and other historians from different contemporary historical movements— suggests the existence of a hidden historiography of PR. This historiography can help public relations scholars learn more about the history of the discipline and how today's critical concepts, such as reputation, played an important role in the past, in particular prior to the industrial age. Certainly, these historians have analyzed research fields that have never before been of interest to public relations scholars, such as laughter and humor as a manifestation and means of discrediting or enhancing reputation (e.g. Le Goff, 1999).

Indeed, as Guenée (2002) stated: "In this field, as in many others, realities have progressed far beyond names" (p. 10). It is beyond doubt that the standards of the New History movement—and especially those of the history of mentalities— have permeated the traditional subjects of study (from political to social studies), provided a major boost to the analysis of other issues (death, the body, social behavior, reputation,

among others) and, most strikingly, shown an extraordinary power of attraction in most historiographical trends.

From this point of view, public relations historians should pay attention to the work and methods of the latest historiographical movements and schools: the *Annales*, the Communist Party Historians Group (& historical materialism), microhistory, history from below, cliometrics, and the world-system analysis paradigm. In the work done by members of these historiographical movements we find not only examples that may illustrate the history of public relations, but also methods that may open the way to a new approach to said history or a new form of public relations historiography.

Jacques Le Goff and other key members of 20th century French historiography were specialists in the Middle Ages. This research has therefore focused on this particular historical period. However, this does not imply that its history does not extend back to Antiquity, where, for example, *fama* was first conceived as a precursor to modern reputation. Neither does it imply that medieval institutions ended abruptly with the discovery of America, a historical event that marks the beginning of the Modern Age according to dominant principles regarding the division of history. Le Goff (2004), following Braudel's long term (*longue durée*) concept, also talks about a long-term Middle Ages. That is, medieval civilization continued until the Modern Age, to the extent that this can be regarded as a time of consolidation for medieval institutions. A good example of this in the field of reputation would be the concern of princes for their image as an instrument of reputation and propaganda in the Modern Age (see Strong, 1984).

Further research should focus on how these three time periods affect the history of public relations, which will depend on our approach to the field. If public relations is seen as a “functional social system that provides organizations as well as individuals with legitimacy and trust” (Bentele & Wehmeier, 2007, p. 299), we can situate the history of public relations at Braudel’s *conjuncture* level. The same is true if we opt for a professional approach. However, the questions still remains of whether a long-term view exists with regard to the history of public relations. This is one of the most fascinating areas of future research for the discipline.

To answer this question we must look beyond the reduction of public relations to only a management function, as it would then be meaningless to talk about its existing prior to the Industrial Revolution. The data in this research, for example, support the idea of public relations as a form of propaganda (e.g. Bernays, 1928; Moloney, 2006; McKie & Munshi, 2007), a practice dating back to the early exercising of political power, its history very much *longue durée* in character.

Therefore, we consider the nonlinear approach to history of Mexican-American philosopher Manuel De Landa as innovative and useful in providing a dispersed view of the history of public relations. Based on the work —and metaphors— of Fernand Braudel and the ideas of the physician Arthur Iberall (1972, 1987), who considered the different stages of human history to actually be caused by critical transitions, De Landa (1997) argues that these stages are not progressive steps in a development where each step leaves the previous one behind; that is, they are not strictly individual stages themselves. On the contrary, "like the gaseous, liquid, and solid phases of water they can co-exist, and each new human phase is added to the previous ones, co-existing and interacting with them without leaving them in the past" (De Landa, 1997, p. 16). This

perspective is similar to that proposed by Burguière (2009), who calls Braudel's (1958) *longue durée* idea “anthropological time”, or in other words, “a time made of overlays, restarts and sometimes sudden innovations taken from a very ancient cultural background common to almost all of mankind” (Burguière, 2009, p. 90).

From this nonlinear perspective of history, the history of public relations parallels the history of mankind, as some of the structures it has addressed, like public opinion or reputation, form part of this cultural background posited by Burguière (2009). Public relations has also coexisted in different states, some of which are as old as humanity itself. Therefore —and because public relations deals with mentalities— public relations is a *longue durée* phenomenon and its historians should approach it as such. However, this approach is only possible if we first overcome the organizational conception of public relations, whereby its history is limited to that of its professional practice.

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