

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>		page xi
	Introduction <i>Anthony Pagden</i>	1
1	Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent <i>Anthony Pagden</i>	33
2	Some Europes in Their History <i>J. G. A. Pocock</i>	55
3	"Europe" in the Middle Ages <i>William Chester Jordan</i>	72
4	The Republican Mirror: The Dutch Idea of Europe <i>Hans W. Blom</i>	91
5	The Napoleonic Empire and the Europe of Nations <i>Biancamaria Fontana</i>	116
6	<i>Homo Politicus</i> and <i>Homo Oeconomicus</i> : The European Citizen According to Max Weber <i>Wilfried Nippel</i>	129
7	The European Self: Rethinking an Attitude <i>Michael Herzfeld</i>	139
8	European Nationalism and European Union <i>Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia</i>	171
9	From the Ironies of Identity to the Identities of Irony <i>Luisa Passerini</i>	191

10	Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam? <i>Talal Asad</i>	209
11	The Long Road to Unity: The Contribution of Law to the Process of European Integration since 1945 <i>Philip Ruttley</i>	228
12	The Euro, Economic Federalism, and the Question of National Sovereignty <i>Elie Cohen</i>	260
13	Identity Politics and European Integration: The Case of Germany <i>Thomas Risse and Daniela Engelmann-Martin</i>	287
14	Nationalisms in Spain: The Organization of <i>Convivencia</i> <i>Andrés de Blas Guerrero</i>	317
15	The Kantian Idea of Europe: Critical and Cosmopolitan Perspectives <i>James Tully</i>	331
	<i>Contributors</i>	359
	<i>Index</i>	363

Index

- Abendland*, 296
Aboriginal peoples, rights of, 351–3
absolutism, 124
Acción Española, 327
Acton, Lord, 326
Adam Smith Institute, 162
Adenauer, Konrad, 287, 315; foreign policy of, 294–8
Adonnino Committee, 242
Adoua, 183
Aegean Sea, 56
Aeneas, 34
Aeneid (Virgil), 34–5
Africa, 26, 36, 38, 51, 57, 59, 201, 212, 323; and European Community, 194, 238. *See also* North Africa
Agamemnon, 34
Agenor, 34
Age of Louis XIV (Voltaire), 64
Aglietta, Michel, 272
agriculture, 48–9, 78, 79
Albania, 60, 181
Albigensian Crusade, 78
Algeria, 212
Allemagne, De l' (de Staël), 125
All-Union Geographical Society, 47
Alpers, Svetlana, 51
Americas, 19, 64, 66; imagery of, 50, 51; as other, 201, 202. *See also* Canada; Latin America; North America; United States
Amsterdam, Treaty of, 28, 232, 243, 247, 255, 287; policies of, 248–50
Anabaptism, 64
anarchism, 328
ancestor cults, 132
Anchises, 34
Ancien Régime, 65, 121, 122
Anderson, Benedict, 25, 290
Anderson, Perry, 192, 219
Angevins, 62
Anglo-French Consortium, 65
Année sociologique school, 149
Anselm, Saint, 73
Antarctica, 58
anthropology, 140, 145–6
anti-Americanism, 202
anti-Europeanism, 173
Antioch, Lord's Supper at, 133–4
antiquity. *See* Greeks, ancient; Roman Empire
Antonius Pius, 42
Apology (Grotius), 103
Arabs, 59. *See also* Muslims
Arcana in Republics and Principalities (Wassenaer), 105–6
Arcanis, De (Clapmarus), 104–5
architecture, Gothic, 89–90
Argyrou, Vassos, 145
aristocracy and religion, 103–4
Arminians, 97, 103
army. *See* military power
artisans, 164, 165; corporatism and, 166, 167–8; Cretan, 166–7, 168–9
Artus, Patrick, 277
Ascanius, 34
Asia, 27, 38, 45, 47, 51, 56, 58, 59, 323; concepts of, 117–18; and European Community, 194, 238; influence of, 34–6; as other, 46, 201
Athens, 136–7
Augustus, 42
Australia, 58, 140, 352
Austria, 57, 65, 67, 75, 119, 123, 238
Austro-Hungarian monarchy, 181
Austro-Marxists, 184–5
authority, 4, 44, 73, 82; legal, 42, 43; and rebellion, 154–5
autonomy, 41, 168
Avignon, 62, 88, 121

- Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 88, 90
 Bacon, Francis, 33
 Bade Wurtemberg, 186
 Bakunin, Mikhail, *Federalism, Socialism and Antitheology*, 184
 balance-of-power system, 127
 Balkan Peninsula, 66–7, 70, 75, 213. *See also various countries*
 Balladur government, 279
 Baltic Sea, 58, 74, 79
 Barrès, M., 325, 327
 Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe*, 60
 Basque country: nationalism, 326, 328; regionalist movements, 317, 318, 320, 329
 Basques, 31
 Basque Nationalist Party, 329
 Batavian Republic, 96–7
 Battaglia, Debbora, 164
 Baxandall, Michael, 51
 Belgium, 168, 233, 234, 278
 Benedict, Ruth, 151
 “Benelux” Treaty, 233
 Bentham, Jeremy, 114; *Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace*, 175
 Berbers, 45
 Berlin, family law in, 145–6
 Bern, 124
 Bernal, Martin, *Black Athena*, 155
Beyond Good and Evil (Nietzsche), 206
 Bicchieri, Guala, 86
 Black, Max, 148–9
Black Athena (Bernal), 155
 Black Sea, 56, 58, 59
 Bobbio, Norberto, 196
 Bohemia, 75
 Bologna, 83
 Bolshevism, 177
 Bonapartist regime, 120. *See also* Napoleon I
 Boniface VIII, Pope, 62
 Borneman, John, 145
 Bosnia, 213
 Bosphorus, 56
 Boston Tea Party, 153
 boundaries, 201; national, 224–5
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 147, 161
 Boxer, Charles, 13
 Brahmanism, 132
 Braidotti, Rosi, 30, 207
 Brandt, Willy, 299, 300
 Braudel, Fernand, 37
 Bretton Woods, 266
 Briand, Aristide, 177, 185, 192
 British Commonwealth, 230, 233. *See also* United Kingdom
 British East India Company, 19
 British Isles, 64, 75, 79
 Brussels, Treaty of, 233
 budgetary policy, 273–4
 Budgetary Treaty, 244
 Bulgaria, 60, 185
 Bundesbank: and European Monetary Union, 268, 269, 271, 275, 276, 277, 284, 307, 311, 313; interest rates and, 277, 279, 280
 Burckhardt, Jacob, 137
 bureaucracies, 27, 122, 146; Catholic Church, 87–8
 Burgersdijk, Franco, 14, 99–100
 Burke, Edmund, 15, 19, 47, 52, 65, 66, 222; on Roman law, 42–3
 Byzantines, 63
 Calvinism, 64, 98, 100, 102
 Campbell, J. K., 165
 Campoformio, Treaty of, 123
 Canada, 194, 325, 333, 352
 Canterbury, archbishop of, 87
 capitalism, 129, 231–2
 Caribbean, 65
 Carlism, 327
Carmina Burana, 72
 Caro Baroja, Julio, 150
 Castile, 320
 cartography, 57–8
 caste system, 132
 Castilians, 74
 Catalan nationalist party (CIU), 329
catalanismo, 320
 Catalonia, 186; nationalism in, 326, 328; regionalist movements in, 317, 318, 320, 329
 Catalonians, 31, 74
 Catherine the Great, 46
 Catholic Church, 3, 8–9, 13, 22, 69, 73; expansion of, 60–1, 62; Latin and, 43, 44. *See also* Roman Catholic Church, Roman Catholicism
 Cattaneo, Carlo, 18, 43; *Gli stati uniti d'Italia*, 183
 CDS. *See* Centro Democrático y Social
 CDU. *See* Christian Democratic Party
 Celtic peoples, 60, 61
 Central Asia, 66
 Central Europe, 61, 65, 145, 219
 Centro Democrático y Social (CDS), 329
 Chaeronea, battle of, 39
 Channel Tunnel, 69
 Charlemagne, 45, 62
 Charles I, 98
 Charles II, 6
 Charles V, 44, 45, 63–64
 Charles X (comte d'Artois), 116

- China, 50, 52, 53, 66, 194, 197; state in, 131–2
- Ch'ing empire, 66
- chocolatiers*, 168
- Christendom, 43, 45–6, 75, 212–13
- Christian Democratic Party (CDU)*, 20, 295, 298, 300, 304–5
- Christianity, 4, 5, 35, 43, 44, 45, 100, 214, 320; confraternity and, 133–4; cultural identity of, 12–13; expansion of, 60–1, 62; and knowledge, 49–50; and politics, 101–2; as unifying force, 118–19
- Churchill, Winston, 178, 230
- cities, 39, 41, 42, 130; ancient vs. medieval, 135–6
- citizens, 119, 131, 223n26, 332; ancient vs. medieval, 134–8; and cultural differences, 355, 356–8; free, 91–2
- citizenship: as concept, 188, 222; European, 26, 47–8; and European Union, 185–6, 189, 190; French, 223–4; and national identity, 291–2, 346; Weber on, 129–34
- city-states, 8, 132–3
- CIU. *See* Catalan nationalist party
- Cive, De* (Hobbes), 98
- civilization: and commerce, 64–5; European, 214–16; Islamic, 217–18
- civil wars, 13, 79, 82
- civitas*, 40
- Clapmarius, 109; *De arcanis rerumpublicarum*, 104–5, 106–7
- climate (in High Middle Ages) 79
- Cluny, 81
- coastlands, geographic definitions from, 56–7, 59
- Cobban, Alfred, 323
- Cobden, Richard, 176
- Cockfield, Lord, White Paper of, 242–3
- Code Napoléon, 122
- Coercion, Capital, and the European States, 990–1990* (Tilly), 319–20
- Cohen, Anthony, 142; on personal nationalism, 144, 149, 151, 154; *Self Consciousness*, 143
- Cold War, 69, 179, 230, 234–5, 296, 302
- collective personality, 224
- collective values, 167–8
- colonialism, 12, 53, 145, 149, 212, 341; British, 10, 223; and cultural imperialism, 337–8. *See also* decolonization
- colonization, 19, 52–3
- Columbus, Christopher, 50
- Come si diventa europei?* (Noteboom), 198
- commerce, 14, 15, 64, 126, 127, 262, 341; cities and, 135, 136; competition and, 19–20; European, 39, 176; and European Community, 256–9; and republicanism, 99, 115
- commercial society*, 14, 15, 17, 18–19, 52
- Committee of Ministers (Council of Europe)*, 233
- Committee of “Three Wise Men,” 241
- Common Agricultural Policy, 237, 252
- Common Commercial Policy, 237
- Common Customs Union, 237
- Common Market, 235, 237, 239
- Common Transport Policy, 237
- commune, 130, 133
- communication, cultural idioms of, 146
- communism, as “other,” 295, 296
- communitarianism, 172
- community, 30, 31, 49, 132, 324; ethnicity and, 53–4; Greek views of, 40–1; identity and, 39–40; imagined, 25, 140; inventing, 25–6; in Middle Ages, 132–3, 135; Rome as, 41–2; self-governing, 130, 131
- Comnena, Anna, 61
- compass, 63
- competition, 19–20, 38, 39, 159
- Comte Ory, Le* (Rossini), 116
- Conciliarism, 88
- Condorcet, Marquis de, 53, 120; *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, 16–17
- confraternity, 132–3
- congress for Europe, 233
- Congress of Peace, 176
- Congress of the Free School of Political Sciences, 176–7
- Congress of Vienna, 3, 13, 15, 22, 173
- Connolly, William, 224, 225
- Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* (Rousseau), 174
- Considérations sur la Révolution française* (de Staël), 125
- Constant, Benjamin, 5, 14, 124, 137, 331, 332; *De l'esprit de conquête*, 125–26; *The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns*, 29; on pluralism, 17–18
- Constantinople, 63, 66, 75
- constitution and equality, 348, 349
- continent, concept of, 57
- constitutionalism, 5–6, 8, 26–7, 349, 351, 357
- contract(s), 4, 136
- Contraremonstrants, 102
- Convegno Volta, 191
- convivencia*, 319, 326

- cooperation, 7; Amsterdam Treaty and, 248–9; European, 233–4
- Coornhert, Dirck, 96
- Coppet, chateau of, 124
- Copts, 75
- Corinne, ou l'Italie* (de Staël), 125
- corporatism, 166, 167–8
- Corvinus, Joannes, 109; *De arcanis*, 104, 105, 107
- Cosmographia* (Münster), 51
- cosmopolitanism, 16, 72, 74, 78, 83, 124, 174, 176; vs. localism, 73, 89; of papal legates, 86–7
- Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard, 177, 192, 295
- Council Commission, 236
- Council of Europe, 233
- Court, Johann de la, 5, 98; *Interests of Holland and West-Friesland*, 91
- Court, Pieter de la, 5, 96, 98, 99, 105; *Interests of Holland and West-Friesland*, 91; *Politieke consideration*, 106; on republicanism, 92–3, 95, 110
- Crete, artisans on, 164, 165, 166–7, 168–9
- Crise de la conscience européenne, La* (Hazard), 198
- Croats, 61
- Croatia, 75, 219
- Cruce, Emeric, *Le Nouveau Cynée*, 14
- crusades, 50, 61, 63, 74, 75, 80, 85, 218n19
- culture(s), 26, 77, 160, 188, 197, 201, 219; and citizenship, 356–7; equality and, 347–50; European, 12, 23–4, 205–6, 207–8; and European Union, 22, 162; Greek, 38–9, 160–1; Herder on, 344–5; human development and, 341–2, 343–4; identity and, 345–7; imperial, 336–7; indigenous, 351–2; interactions of, 344–5; national, 152–3; pluralism of, 51–2; ranking of, 354–5; respect for, 348–9; and self-government, 350–1
- Culture and Imperialism* (Said), 336
- currency, 277, 280n24, 282; imbalances in, 266–7; national, 288, 305; single, 306–7, 310–12. *See also* Euro; European Monetary Union
- Cyprus, 145
- Czechoslovakia, 69, 185, 230
- Czechs, 61, 219
- Dankert, Piet, 240
- Dante Alighieri, 44
- Davignon Report, 240
- Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), 121, 222
- Declaration on European Identity*, 194–5
- Declaration on European Union, 241
- decolonization, 215, 333, 337
- deflation, 272
- Dehler, Thomas, 297
- Delors, Jacques, 233, 243
- Delors Report, 268
- De Maizière, Lothar, 47
- De Martino, Ernesto, 203
- democracy, 22, 187, 189, 329, 334n26; Athenian, 136–7; liberal, 6–7
- Deng Hsiao Ping, 6
- Denmark, 58, 196, 238; and European Community, 29, 231, 237, 239, 243, 245; European Monetary Union and, 278, 285
- Derrida, Jacques, 12, 206–7, 345
- Descartes, René, 149
- despotism, 126, 132
- d'Estaing, Valéry Giscard, 267
- Deutsch, Karl W., 290
- de Witt, John, 96, 110, 112n14
- Diderot, 62, 66, 96; *Encyclopédie*, 117, 197; *Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies*, 64, 65
- Directory (France), 121, 122
- Discourses to the German Nation* (Fichte), 324
- discrimination, policies against, 249–50
- d'Istria, Dora, 142
- diversity, 197; cultural, 210, 345–6, 356–7
- dogmatism, 91, 93
- Douglas, Mary, 146
- Draft Treaty on European Union, 242
- Droit des gens, ou principes de la loi naturelle appliqués a la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains, Le* (Vattel), 48–9
- Dumont, Louis, 147; *Homo Hierarchicus*, 139
- Dunde, Alan, 141
- Duroselle, Jean-Baptiste, *L'Europe: Histoire de ses peuples*, 178
- Dutch East India Company, 19
- Dutch Republic (United Provinces), 5, 13, 19, 100; religious tolerance in, 101–3; republicanism in, 95, 96–9, 106–10, 112–13, 114–15; and Spain, 107–8; Spinoza and, 111–12
- Duties of Man, The* (Mazzini), 182
- East Berlin, 230
- Eastern Europe, 145, 194. *See also various countries*
- East Germany, 2, 47, 69, 201, 269; and European identity, 304–5; reunification and, 297, 302, 303–4
- ECB. *See* European Central Bank

- economics: community and, 91, 134–5, 234; European Monetary Union and, 278–9; of High Middle Ages, 73, 78
- Economics and France Committee, 274
- economy, 7, 80, 94; European Monetary Union, 263–4; of High Middle Ages, 78–81; inflation and, 270–1; Napoleon and, 126–7
- ECSC. *See* European Coal and Steel Community
- ECHR. *See* European Convention on Human Rights
- ECJ. *See* European Court of Justice
- ECU. *See* European Currency Unit
- EDC. *See* European Defense Community
- EEC. *See* European Economic Community
- EFTA. *See* European Free Trade Association
- eghoismós*, 157, 158, 159, 163
- Egypt, 56–7, 131
- Eichstätt Basic Program, 295–6
- Eighty Years War, 13
- elites, 122, 160; East German, 303–5; German, 297, 307–8, 314; languages of, 44–5; and nation-state identities, 292–3; political, 287, 288; religion and, 103–4; responsible government and, 91–2
- Emba River, 47
- empire(s), 9, 10, 14, 42, 44, 67, 82; French, 122–3. *See also by name*
- EMU. *See* European Monetary Union
- Encyclopédie* (Diderot and D'Alembert), 117, 197
- England, 74, 78, 81, 83, 96, 136, 145, 153, 173, 222; papacy and, 86, 87. *See also* United Kingdom
- Enlightenment, 9, 10, 66–7, 70, 120, 123, 196, 214, 216, 222, 320, 334, 335, 338n26, 353, 354; commerce and, 64–5; historical view of, 62–4; and nation-states, 119, 137, 173–4
- environmental policy, 253
- equality and cultural differences, 347–50, 356–8
- Erasmus, 14
- Erler, Fritz, 299
- ERM. *See* Exchange Rate Mechanism
- ERTA. *See* European Road Transport Agreement
- ESCB. *See* European system of central banks
- Esprit des Lois* (Montesquieu), 118
- Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (Condorcet), 16–17
- esprit de conquête*, *De l'* (Constant), 125–6
- Estonia, 75
- ETA. *See* Euskadi y Libertad
- ethnic cleansing, 146
- ethnicity, 53–4
- ethnocentrism, 203
- EURATOM, 231, 232, 236, 245, 256
- Euro, 285; adoption of, 280, 288; creation of, 276, 277; Germany and, 305, 307, 308–9, 310–12. *See also* European Monetary Union
- Eurocentrism, 146–7, 175, 200, 321–2, 352–3, 354
- Euro XI, 285
- Europa, 34, 56, 59
- Europe: construct and reality of, 55–6; as culturally superior, 342–3; Habsburg view of, 57–8; as identity, 33, 206–7; imagery of, 50, 51; philosophy of, 10–11; as superior, 117–18
- European Atomic Energy Community, 235
- European Central Bank (ECB), 263, 264, 269, 270, 274, 275, 283, 285, 305; Germany and, 306, 311
- European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), 171, 232, 234, 235, 245, 256, 297
- European Coal and Steel Community Treaty, 231
- European Commission, 2, 29, 230–31, 238, 240, 241
- European Community (EC), 194, 211, 230, 232, 234, 242, 257, 259; budget of, 244–5; competence of, 254–5; legal system of, 250–3; monetary policy of, 266–70; policies of, 246–7; sovereignty and, 253–4. *See also* European Economic Community; European Union
- European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), 233–4, 246
- European Council, 236, 239, 249, 254–5
- European Court of Justice (ECJ), 2, 26, 27, 28, 29, 43, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 249, 259, 268; activism of, 257–8; common positions of, 254, 255; legal system of, 256–8; and legislation, 251, 252–3
- European Currency Unit (ECU), 27, 245
- European Customs Union, 177
- European Defense Community (EDC), 232, 234–5
- European Defensive Council, 6
- European Economic Community (EEC), 6, 18, 20, 65, 68, 171, 193, 231, 232, 235, 256; expansion of, 237–8, 239–40; organization of, 236–7; United Kingdom and, 230, 239
- European Economic Community Treaty, 235, 236–7, 245, 256, 257

- European Federalist Movement, 198
 European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 238–9
 Europeanism: Adenauer's, 294–95, 315; of German Social Democrats, 299–300
 Europeanization, 201
 European Monetary Agreement, 266
 European Monetary Institute, 311
 European Monetary System, 245
 European Monetary Union (EMU), 7, 247, 269, 271–2, 277, 288; bureaucracy and, 274–5; economic integration and, 261–4, 278–9; features of, 269–70; France and, 275–6; Germany and, 305, 306–14; political factors of, 281–6; sovereignty and, 264–6
 European Parliament, 2, 27, 28–9, 193, 236, 241, 242, 248; budget and, 244–5; legal system and, 251–3
 European Political Community, 232, 235
 European Political Cooperation, 240, 243
 European Quadrige, 186
 European Road Transport Agreement (ERTA), 254
 European Space Agency, 146
 European system of central banks (ESCB), 272, 283–4
 European Union, 2, 6, 12, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30, 54, 70, 120, 162, 168, 171, 172, 187, 219, 220, 228–9, 351; Amsterdam Treaty and, 248–9; capitalism and, 231–2; as citizenship, 185–6, 189, 190; Germany and, 305, 315–16; Greece and, 147, 148; as inexorable, 68–9; legal order of, 31–2; Maastricht Treaty and, 247–8
 European Union of Payments, 266
Europe: Histoire de ses peuples, L' (Duroselle), 178
 EUROPOL, 249
 Euskadi y Libertad (ETA), 329
 Euxine Sea. *See* Black Sea
 Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), 245, 262, 263, 267–8, 275, 277; collapse of, 269n9, 279–80; and politics, 278, 279
 exoticism, 145–6, 167, 168
 family, 73, 134, 145–6
 fanaticism, 64
 Fanon, Frantz, 347; *Wretched of the Earth*, 337–8
 Farr, James R., 166
 Fascists, 191
 Faubion, James, 158
 FDP. *See* Free Democratic Party
 federalism, 17, 192, 198–9, 201, 229, 334, 335, 351; budgetary, 285–6; and EEC, 238, 242; European, 287, 314–15; German, 300, 314; vs. imperialism, 332–3; and unification, 231–2
Federalism, Socialism and Antitheology (Bakunin), 184
 Federal Republic of Germany. *See* West Germany
 Federal Reserve Bank, 284
 Federal Union, 192
 federation, 6, 228, 331–2, 333, 339
Federative Principle, The (Proudhon), 184
Femmes pour l'Europe, 198
 Ferguson, Adam, 49
 feudalism, 60–1, 63, 77
 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 174; *Discourses to the German Nation*, 324
 Finland, 75, 239
 Fischer, Joschka, 7, 229, 309, 315
 Flanders, 79
 Fletcher, Andrew, 339
 Florence, 79
 Fontainebleau Council Summit, 242
 Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de, 96
 Foucault, Michel, 334
 Founding Fathers of Europe, 178, 179
 Fourth Crusade, 75
 France, 18, 62, 65, 66, 75, 76, 78, 83, 88, 128, 169, 209, 212, 222, 237, 323, 325; and Cold War, 230, 234–5; conquests of, 121–2; constitution of, 121; Consulate, 122; economy in, 234, 271; and European Economic Community, 68, 237–8, 240; European integration and, 230–1; and European Monetary Union, 262–3, 275–6, 277, 278, 281–2; and Gothic architecture, 89, 90; imperialism of, 19, 119–20; Muslims in, 214n10, 223–4, 245; Napoleon and, 67, 122–3
 Francis I, 46
 Francoism, 321, 322, 327, 328–9
 Frankish kingdom, 62
 Frederick the Great, 6, 46
 Free Democratic Party (FDP), 297
 freedom(s), 4–5, 237; commercial society and, 17, 18; individual, 91–2, 333; and public reason, 355–6; republicanism and, 108–9
Free Thoughts on Religions, the Church and National Happiness (B.M.), 113–14
 French East India Company, 19
 French language, 44–5, 85
 French people, 18, 149, 168, 173
 French Revolution, 6, 15, 48, 65, 66, 117, 119; principles of, 120–1
 Friedman, Milton, 270
 Friedrich, Carl, *Inevitable Peace*, 334
 frontiers, 118

- Furet, François, 121
 Fustel de Coulanges, N. D., 137
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg, 11, 198; *Die Vielfalt Europas*, 197
- GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- Gaulle, Charles de, 237, 238, 239
- Gellner, Ernst, 265, 290
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 238, 255
- Geneva, 124
- Genscher, Hans Dietrich, 263, 276
- Genscher-Colombo Plan, 241
- Genoa, 79, 121
- geography, 56–7; of High Middle Ages, 74–5; Napoleonic wars and, 127–8
- Geremek, Bronislaw, 196
- German Central Bank, 276, 279
- German Empire, 57
- Germanic customary law, 42
- German Social Democrats. *See* Social Democratic Party
- Germans, 17, 19, 59, 173
- Germany, 65, 68, 69, 75, 176, 212, 245, 256, 271, 287, 323; and Cold War, 234–5; East German elites and, 303–5; European identity in, 288, 314–16; European Monetary Union, 262, 263, 275, 276, 278, 279, 306–14; and European unification, 298–9; exchange rate mechanism and, 277–8; foreign policy of, 294–300; medieval markets in, 79, 80; monetary policy of, 267, 268–9, 272; national identity in, 300–1; reunification of, 2, 21, 281–2, 287, 302–4; and unified Europe, 229–30
- Gibbon, Edward, 39, 62, 63, 66
- Giddens, Anthony, 159
- Giles of Verraccio, 86
- Girondins, 325
- Gli stati uniti d'Italia* (Cattaneo), 183
- globalization, 3, 187
- Godesberg program, 300
- Goebbels, Joseph, 191
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 21
- Gomarists, 98
- Goths, 42
- governments, 3, 37, 91, 117, 120, 197; Napoleonic, 122–3; power of, 4–5; representative, 221–2; republican, 92, 106–7; tolerance and consensus in, 100–1
- Grand Design, 14, 54
- Grass, Günter, 21
- Graswinckel, Dirk, *De iure maiestatis*, 104
- Great Britain. *See* England; Scotland; United Kingdom
- Great Schism, 88, 90
- Greece, 8, 75, 145, 181, 185, 205, 285; communal life in, 40–1; culture in, 38–9, 160; and European Community, 237, 239; history and, 155–6; individualism in, 144, 157–9, 164–6; naming system in, 160–2; national character of, 61, 150, 156–7; nationalism in, 147–8, 155; selfhood in, 157–8; territorial issues of, 163–4; warrior guilds in, 135–6
- Greeks, 131, 153, 169; ancient, 4, 34, 36, 37, 56–7, 118
- Greek Orthodoxy, 35, 75
- Greenfield, Liah, 141
- Green Party, 253
- Grotius, Hugo, 5, 51, 52, 93, 94, 96, 113, 175; works by, 98, 101–2, 103, 104
- Guigou paper, 268
- guilds, 133; warrior, 135–6
- Guizot, François, 26, 139, 162
- gunpowder, 9, 63
- Haas, Ernst, 290, 295
- Habermas, Jürgen, 26, 188, 301, 355, 357
- Habsburg dynasty, 64, 94
- Habsburg (Hapsburg) family, 57–8, 96
- Hague conference, 179
- Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Weber), 130
- Handler, Richard, 140, 152
- Hanse, 74
- Harrington, James, 91
- Hay, Denys, 212
- Hazard, Paul, *La crise de la conscience européenne*, 198
- Hecateus, 38
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 35, 37
- hegemony, 124, 134, 230
- Held, David, 334
- Helen of Troy, 34
- Heller, Agnes, 23, 207–8
- Hemsterhuis, François, 96
- Henry VIII, 87
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von, 174, 324, 354; on cultures, 344–5; *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, 343
- Herodotus, 34, 36, 37, 38, 49
- Herstelden Prins, Den* (The Prince Restored), 111
- High Middle Ages, 72–73; architecture of, 89–90; economy of, 78–81; geography of, 74–5; Roman Catholic Church in, 86–8; scholasticism in, 83–5
- Hirschmann, Ursula, 30, 198–9, 207

- Hirschon, Renée, 159
 history: and Asia, 35–6, 64; of Europe, 62–3, 69, 216; German national, 300, 301; Greece and, 155–6; world, 340–1
History of Russia under Peter the Great (Voltaire), 58, 65–6
History of Western Philosophy (Russell), 149
 Hobbes, Thomas, *De Cive*, 98
 Hoggart, Richard, 196
 Hohenstaufen, 62
 Holland, 92, 102, 121; republicanism in, 93–94, 95–99, 106–13, 114–15. *See also* Netherlands
Hollandische Sybille, 108
 Holy Alliance, 182
 “Holy Alliance of Nations,” 182
 Holy Roman Empire, 9, 44, 64, 78–9, 82–3
 Hood, Robin, 153, 154
 Horace, 42
 Hugo, Victor, 176
 humanism, 14, 338n26
 humanity, 10
 human rights, 233–4, 246
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 5
 Hume, 9, 62, 63, 64
 Hungarians, 61
 Hungary, 61, 69, 75, 219, 230
 Iberian Peninsula, 57, 74, 79, 217, 320
 Iceland, 75, 239
 iconicity, 161–2
Iconologia (Ripa), 51
Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind (Herder), 343
 identity, 1, 33, 139, 210, 348; community, 39–40; constructing, 24–6; cultural, 12, 203, 345–7; and cultural imperialism, 337–8; European, 3, 156, 162, 192, 193–5, 199–200, 205, 206–8, 211, 215, 216, 218–19, 296, 301, 304–5, 314–16; Germany and, 287, 300–1; Greece and, 155–6; imperialism and, 13–14; national, 127, 154–5, 178–9, 250; nation-state, 289–94; respect for, 225–6; transnational, 23–4
Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose (Kant), 16, 341, 342
 IGC. *See* Intergovernmental Conference
 Illyria, 60
 immigrants: to France, 215, 223–4; Muslim, 12, 209, 210, 223–4
 imperialism, 10, 11–12, 15–16, 19, 52–3, 65, 67, 70, 335; cultural, 336–8, 343; vs. federalism, 332–3; French, 119–20, 121–3; identity and, 13–14; opposition to, 124–6, 340
Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra, De (Grotius), 103
 Imperium Oecumenicum, 14, 100
 independence, 181, 333
 India, 67, 131, 132
 indigenous peoples, rights of, 351–3
 individual(s), 217; freedom of, 91–2; politics and, 113–14. *See also* citizens, citizenship
 individualism, 10, 139–40, 147, 162, 328, 333; artisans and, 168–9; Greek, 157–9, 164; and national culture, 152–3; rationalism and, 148–9; resistance and, 164–5; and selfhood, 169–70
 industrialism, 68, 144
 industrialization, 180, 214
Inevitable Peace (Friedrich), 334
 inflation, 270–71, 273, 282
 inheritance, 161
 Innocent III, Pope, 82, 86
 intellectuals, Christian, 49–50
 interest rates and exchange rate mechanism, 277–8, 279
Interests of Holland and West-Friesland (de la Court and de la Court), 91, 111
 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC), 245, 246
 Internal Market, 242–3
 Internal Revenue Service, 153–4
 International Congress (Rome), 176
 International League of Peoples, 182
Inventing Eastern Europe (Wolff), 66–7
Invention of Tradition, The (Hobsbawm and Ranger), 143
 Investiture Controversy, 82
 Ionian Islands, 145
 Ireland, 66, 145, 237, 239
 Iselin, 174
 Islam, 59, 61, 225; civilization of, 217–18; as other, 12–13, 214; as threat, 46, 209, 210, 213
 Isocrates, 38–9
 isolation, 80
 Italian, 44
 Italy, 46, 58, 65, 75, 79, 83, 121, 134, 205, 234; and European Monetary Union, 281, 282; pro-national nationalism in, 181–2; unification of, 176, 183
iure belli ac pacis, De (Grotius), 98, 104
iure majestatis, De (Graswinckel), 104
 Jacobins, 121, 122, 137, 223, 224, 325
 Japan, 68, 131, 151, 164, 194, 230, 276
 Jaucourt, Chevalier de, 117
 Jefferson, Thomas, 5

- Jews, 75, 133, 217
 Joan of Arc, 78
 John, King, 86
 John of Abbeville, 86
 Johnson, Douglas, 196
 Johnson, Mark, 149
 Jordan, William Chester, 9, 10
 Judt, Tony, 212
 Juno, 35
 Justinian, 43
- Kaeble, Hartmut, 200
 Kaisen, Wilhelm, 299
 Kaiser, Jakob, 297
 Kaminka, Eugene, 323
 Kant, Immanuel, 5, 8, 16, 23, 38, 176, 331, 334, 339, 347, 349, 353, 358; on cultural development, 343-4, 352; cultural ranking of, 354-5; works of, 6, 16, 175, 332-3, 335-6, 340-1, 342-3, 351
 Karpathos, 161
 Keating, Michael, 325
 Kenna, Margaret, 161
kleftes, 153, 157
 knowledge, access to, 49-50
 Kohl, Helmut, 7, 268, 269, 277, 305, 310, 313, 314, 315; on European Monetary Union, 307, 308-9
 Kondo, Dorinne, 164
 Korsgaard, Christine, 23, 346
 Kossmann, E. H., 112
 Krerch River, 47
 Kundera, Milan, 219
 Kymlica, Will, 340, 350
- labor contracts, 136
 Lackoff, George, 149
 Lactantius, 34
 Laden, Anthony, 347, 357
 Lafontaine, Oskar, 310
 Lanfranc, 73-4
 language(s): diversity of, 198-9; dominant, 44-5; in Middle Ages, 84-6; unifying, 43-4
 Languedoc-Roussillon, 186
 Latin, 43-44, 73; literary and intellectual use of, 84-5
 Latin America, 194, 323, 333
 Latin culture, 61, 62, 69; history and, 63, 64
 Latins, 34, 35
 Latvia, 75
 Lausanne Conference, 179
 law, 28, 49, 134; family, 145-6; Roman, 42-3, 44; rule of, 37, 38, 41
 Leach, Edmund, 153
 League of Nations, 192, 333-4
- legal order, 4; European Union and, 26-7, 28, 31-2
 legal system, 26-7; of European Community, 250-3; and European Court of Justice, 256-8
 legates, papal, 86-7
Legato, De (Maggi), 44
 Leibniz, Gottfried-Wilhelm, 45
 Leo the Great, 43
 Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 223-4
 Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien, 149
 liberalism, 22, 49, 115, 210
 liberation, 338; Greek, 157-8
 liberty, 4, 30, 37, 96, 115
Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns, The (Constant), 29
 Libya, 36
 Lipsius, 104
 literature, Latin, 84-5
 Lithuania, 219
 Lithuanians, 61, 75-6
littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales, De la (de Staël), 125
 liturgies, Athenian, 136-7
 Lloyd, G. E. R., 149
 localism, 9, 73, 77, 80, 83, 89, 140
 Locke, John, 216, 356; *Second Treatise on Government*, 48
 Lombards, 31
 Lombardy, 79, 123, 186
 Lomé Convention, 238
 London, 79
 Louis XIV, 6, 43, 44, 64
 Louis XVI, 122
 Low Countries, 75, 91, 97-8. *See also* Belgium; Dutch Republic; Holland; Netherlands
 Lubbertus, Sybrand, 101, 102
 Luther, Martin, 5
 Lutheranism, 64, 69, 100
 Luxembourg, 233, 234
 Luxembourg Accords, 238, 239
- Maastricht compromise, 263
 Maastricht Treaty (Treaty on European Union), 27, 33, 171, 179, 185, 186, 193, 231, 232, 243, 246, 264; Germany and, 309, 313-14; monetary policy and, 268, 272, 274, 277, 282, 312; pillars of, 247-8
 Macedonia, 60, 156, 163-4
 Machiavelli, 4, 38, 109
 Macpherson, C. B., 152; *The Rise of Possessive Individualism*, 139
 Madariaga, Salvador de, 54
 Madison, James, 333

- Maggi, Ottaviano, *De Legato*, 44
 Maizière, Lothar De, 304–5
Making of Europe, The (Bartlett), 60
 Malta, 145
 Mandeville, Bernard, 94, 95, 99, 114
Manifesto di Ventotene, 192
 Mann, Thomas, 287
 marginalization, 31, 164, 169, 217
 Marjolin Report, 266
 markets, 176; financial, 279–80; growth of, 73, 79
 Marshall, John, 352
 Marshall Plan, 133
 Martino, Fedinando, 183
 Marx, Karl, 222
 Marxism, 296, 328
 Matthias, Erich, 298
 Maurits, Prince, 102–3
 Mauro, Fra, 47
 Maurras, C., 325, 327
 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 213
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 5, 18, 31, 181–2
 Mediterranean, 36, 37, 56, 59, 74, 194
 Meinecke, Ferdinand, 322, 324
 Menelaus, 34
 Merger Treaty (1965), 20
 Mesopotamia, 131
 messianism, 179
 Messina Conference, 231, 235
 Metternich, Klemens von, 182
 Michelet, Jules, 6
 Middle Ages, 9, 10, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135. *See also* High Middle Ages
 Middle East, 194, 212
 migrants, 198–9
 Milan, 79
 Milbank, John, 226
 military power, 8, 9, 63, 67, 122, 131
 Mill, John Stuart, 5, 349
 Milosz, Czeslaw, 219
 Ming Empire, 9
 minorities, 221, 222–3
 Mirabeau, Marquis de, 15
 miscegenation, 153
 missionary activity, 81
 Mitterand, François, 269
 modernism, 187n19; individualism and, 165, 168–9
 modernity, 195–6
 modernization, 46, 63
 Modiglianu, Franco, 280
 monarchies, 6, 92, 93, 97; military, 9, 63, 67–8; papal, 82–3, 86, 89
 monastic reform, 81, 87
 monetary policy: of European Community, 266–70, 271–2, 274, 281–6; Germany and, 310–12. *See also* European Monetary Union
 Mongols, 61
 Monnet, Jean, 8, 25, 192, 233, 234, 268, 299
 Montaigne, Michel de, 44, 51
 Montesquieu, 4, 5, 14, 37–8, 52, 93, 115, 124; *Esprit des Lois*, 118; on nationalism, 174–5
 Montpellier, 83
 Moravia, 75
 Morocco, 149
 Moscow, 167
 Mout, Nicolette, 112
 Mulier, Haitsma, 112
 Müller, Adam, 17
 multiculturalism, 344
 multilingualism, 44–5
 Mundell, Robert, 275
 Münster, Sebastian, *Cosmographia*, 51
 Muslims, 75, 211, 213; in Europe, 12, 209–10, 220, 320; political representation of, 221, 223–7
 mythology, 33–5
 naming system, Greek, 160–2
 Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte), 17, 43, 94, 332; on administration, 122–3; and French empire, 119–20; opposition to, 124–6
 Napoleonic wars, 3, 67, 117, 119, 127
 nation(s), 31, 171, 318; as concept, 174, 187–8; political vs. cultural, 322–6. *See also* nation-state(s)
 nation building, 21
 National Assembly (France), 121
 national character, 150–1, 173–4, 323; Greek, 156–7
 national consciousness, 173–4
 nationalism(s), 19, 23, 31, 140–1, 142, 152, 199, 237, 320, 325; European, 21, 171–3, 174–80, 189–90; German, 301, 314; Greek, 147, 148; personal, 143–4, 149, 151, 154, 164; pro-national, 181–6; and pluralism, 17–18, 326; and rebellion, 154–5; Spanish, 317–19; and unified Europe, 229–30
 nationality, 187–8
 Nationality Code, 224
 national-populism, 172
 National Synod of the Reformed Church, 102
 nation-state(s), 2, 9, 21, 140, 152, 173, 174, 186–7, 298; boundaries, 224–5; ethnicity and, 53–4; identities as, 289–94; Spain as, 320–1

- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 nature, 41, 48-9
 Nazi Germany, 20, 191, 192, 212; as other, 298, 314
 Near East, 75
 Netherlands, 13, 19, 57, 65, 66, 68, 136, 233, 234, 256; European Monetary Union and, 278, 279. *See also* Dutch Republic; Holland
 New World, 63
 New Zealand, 352
 Nice, 121
 Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 328; *Beyond Good and Evil*, 206
 Nixon, Richard, 266
 Noli, Teofan, 18, 181
 North Africa, 45-6
 North America, 10, 65. *See also* Canada; United States
 North American Free Trade Agreement, 69
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 233, 234, 297, 303
 North Sea, 58, 74
 North-South: concept of, 36-7; relationships with, 3, 13
 Norway, 238, 239
 Noteboom, Cees, *Come si diventa europeo?* 198
 Nottingham, 153, 154
Nouveau Cynée, Le (Cruce), 14
 Novalis, 18
 Occident, 131, 295
 Occidentalism, 148
 Ochakov crisis, 47
 OEEC. *See* Organization for European Economic Cooperation
 Oldenbarneveldt, Johan, 101, 102
 oligarchies, 92
 Orange, House of, 97
 Orangeism, 106
orbis terrarum, 43
Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae Pietas (Grotius), 101
 Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), 233
 Orient, 47, 131, 139, 295
 "Oriental Despotism," 67, 196
 Orientalism, 138, 148
 Ortega y Gasset, José, 177, 323
 Osser, Bernard, 213
Ostpolitik, 300
 other, 213; defining, 200-2, 300; and European identity, 207, 296; German concepts of, 295, 314
 Ottoman Empire, 9, 12, 34, 45-6, 61, 66, 70, 166, 181; as other, 66-7
 Ovid, 59
 Own-Resources Decision (1970), 244
 Oxford University, 83
 pacifism, 175
 Padoa Schioppa, Tommaso, 275
 pagans, 75
 Palestine, 75
 Pan-Albanian federation, 181
 Pan-European Movement, 177, 192
 papacy, 63, 90, 100; location of, 88-9; and monarchies, 82-3; representatives of, 86-7; rise of, 62, 81-2
 Paris, 79, 83
 Paris, peace of, 127
 Paris, Treaty of (1951), 14-15, 232, 234
 Parliamentary Assembly (Council of Europe), 233
 parliaments, 27, 28
 parochialism, 73
 Partido Popular (PP), 329
 Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), 329
 Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), 302-3
 Patat, Jean-Pierre, 283-4
 patriotism, 76, 301, 327
 Paul, Saint, 133
 PDS. *See* Party of Democratic Socialism
 peace, 7, 14, 99-100, 117, 203-4, 334, 341
 peasants, 134, 160
 Penn, William, *Present and Future Peace of Europe*, 175
 "people's spring," 182
Perpetual Peace a Philosophical Sketch (Kant), 6, 175, 332-3, 335-6, 341, 351
 Persians, 34, 49
 Pesaro, 117
 Peter, Saint, 133
 Peter the Great, 46, 58, 65-6
 Philip of Macedon, 39
 Philip II, 43
Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies (Raynal and Diderot), 64, 65
 philosophy, 10-11
 Phoenicians, 34, 57
 Piedmontese, 31
 Pitt, William, 47
Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace (Bentham), 175
 pluralism, 12, 17-18; cultural, 51-2, 225, 325-6, 339-40, 344
 Poland, 58, 68, 75, 76, 80; partition of, 65, 66
 Poles, 61, 69, 219

- police actions, 248–9
 polis, 40–1
 political parties: German, 288, 298–300, 302–3; Spanish, 329
 political unions, 39, 54
Politické consideration (De la Court), 106
 politics, 40, 73, 91, 98, 127, 134; and Christianity, 101–2; de la Court on, 92–3; European identity and, 205–6; of identity, 287–8; individual and, 113–14; minority representation in, 222–3; Muslim representation in, 221, 223–7; Spanish, 327–30
 Polo, Marco, 85
 population, during High Middle Ages, 78–9
 Portugal, 6, 75, 205, 238; and European Community, 237, 239–40
 Portuguese, 74
 power, 64; and contract, 4–5; military, 9, 63, 67–8
 PP. *See* Partido Popular
 Prague, 58
Present and Future Peace of Europe (Penn), 175
 prince-bishoprics, 8
 printing press, 63
 priories, 87
 Prodi, Romano, 8
 progress, 195–6, 341–2
Projet pour rendre la paix perpetuelle en Europe (Saint Pierre), 14, 175
 property rights, 139, 152, 216; agriculture and, 48–9; naming system and, 160–2
 Protestants, 3, 13, 62;
 Protestantism, 93, 100; politics and, 101–2, 103–4
 Proudhon, Joseph, *The Federative Principle*, 184
 Prussia, 119, 128
 Prussian empire, 65, 67
 PSOE. *See* Partido Socialista Obrero Español
 public reason, 355–6
 Pufendorf, Samuel, 51–2, 98
 Purchas, Samuel, 35, 49, 50
 Pythagoras, 38
 Quadruple Alliance, 128
 quality of life, 20–1
 Québec, 140, 152, 325
 Rabinow, Paul, 149
 racism, 53
 rationalism, 148–9
 Rawls, John, 347, 355
 Raynal, Abbé (Guillame-Thomas-François), 62, 66; *Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies*, 64, 65
 rebellion and national identity, 154–5
 Reconquest, 320
 Reed-Danahay, Deborah, 146–7
 Reformation, 22, 89, 222
 Regional Committee, 186
 regionalism, 31, 172, 186, 317
 religion, 13, 35, 43, 50, 64, 133, 222; dogmatism in, 91, 93; in Dutch Republic, 101–3; in society, 103–4; tolerance of, 97–8, 100
 Remonstrants, 102
 Renan, Ernest, 178, 188, 325
 Renner, Karl, 184–5
Réorganisation de la société européenne (Saint Simon and Thierry), 180
 republicanism, 4, 5–6, 92, 332, 333; Dutch, 93–4, 95–9, 106–13, 114–15; European, 37, 38; historical definition of, 94–5
république des lettres, 119
 resistance, 164–5
 Reuter, Ernst, 299
 revolution, 19, 153. *See also* French Revolution
 Rhone Alps, 186
 Ricci, Matteo, 50
 Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologia*, 51
Rise of Christian Europe, The (Trevor-Roper), 215, 216
Rise of Possessive Individualism, The (Macpherson), 139
 Risorgimento, 183
 Robertson, William, 9, 62, 63–4
 Robespierre, Maximilien-François-Marie-Isidore de, 30
 Roman Catholic Church: alienism and, 87–8; cosmopolitanism of, 86–7; hegemony of, 75–6; historical records of, 76–7; institutionalization of, 81–2; papacy and, 88–9; reform in, 82–3. *See also* Catholic Church, Roman Catholicism
 Roman Catholicism, 295, 327. *See also* Catholic Church, Roman Catholic Church
 Roman Empire, 42, 43, 45, 59, 131, 134, 136, 214
 Romanov family, 47
 Rome, 8, 34, 38, 88, 118, 131; as community, 41–2; laws of, 42–3
 Rome, Treaty of (1957), 232, 235, 237, 242, 287, 297, 300
 Rossini, Gioacchino: *Le Comte Ory*, 116; *Il Viaggio a Reims*, 116–17, 125
 Rougemont, Denis de, 179
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 5, 23, 30, 43, 46, 115, 173, 356; *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*, 174
 Ruhr River, 234
 rural life, 39–40, 73, 79

- Rusconi, Gian Enrico, 200
- Russell, Bertrand, *History of Western Philosophy*, 149
- Russia, 58, 67, 70, 219; Europe and, 118, 201; Voltaire on, 65–6
- Russians, 34, 61, 69, 217; as other, 46–7
- Russian Orthodoxy, 35, 75
- Saar River, 234
- Said, Edward, 335, 343, 345; *Culture and Imperialism*, 336–7
- Saint-Exupéry, Patrick, 213
- St. Just, 30
- Saint Pierre, Charles Irénée, Abbé de, *Projet pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe*, 14, 175
- Saint Simon, Henri de, 13, 22, 180; *Réorganisation de la société européenne, ou de la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples d'Europe en un seul corps politique en conservant à chacun sa nationalité*, 180
- Salomon, Jacques, 277–8
- Samuelson, Paul, 280
- Savoy, 121
- Scandinavia, 58, 75. *See also various countries*
- Scandinavians, 74, 81
- Scharping, Rudolf, 310
- Schlegel, A. W., 173–4
- Schlegel brothers, 17
- Schmid, Carlo, 299
- Schmidt, Helmut, 267, 299
- scholasticism, 73; Latin and, 83–5; sixteenth- and seventeenth-century, 76–7
- Schroeder, Gerhard, 229, 288, 310
- Schumacher, Kurt, 299
- Schuman, Robert, 8, 233, 234
- science, 10; European, Christian, 49–50
- Scotland, 31, 74, 145, 325. *See also United Kingdom*
- SEA. *See* Single European Act
- Second Republic (Spain), 327–38
- Second Treatise on Government* (Locke), 48
- self, 142, 167, 347; in Greece, 157–8; resistance and, 164–5
- selfhood, 25; and individualism, 169–70
- self-categorization, 291–2
- Self Consciousness* (Cohen), 143
- self-determination, 5, 21
- self-government, 350–1
- separatism, 31, 172
- Serbia, 60
- Serbs, 61
- Seven Years War (French and Indian War), 14–15, 65
- Shaftsbury, earl of, 115
- shepherds, Greek, 157, 158
- Shoah, 196
- Sidney, Algernon, 115
- Siècle de Louis XV, Le* (Voltaire), 175
- Single European Act (SEA), 231, 243–4, 262, 267
- Skinner, Quentin, 115
- slavery, 5, 61
- Slavic countries, 61. *See also various countries*
- Slovakia, 75
- Slovenia, 219
- Smith, Adam, 50, 95–6, 114
- Smith, Anthony, 289
- social class, 122. *See also elites*
- social Darwinism, 328
- Social Democratic Party (SPD), 20, 288, 304; and Euro, 309–10; policy programs of, 299–300; and united Europe, 298–9
- socialism, 219; German, 298–9, 302–3
- Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, 299
- society, 164, 324; Greek views of, 40–1; modern, 29–30; progress in, 341–2
- sociocentrism, 143, 154, 170
- Solow, Robert, 280
- Solozábal, J. J., 326
- Soto, Domingo de, 15
- “Southern Question” (Italy), 183
- sovereignty, 28, 65, 96, 97, 113–14, 158, 187, 260–1, 302; European Community and, 242, 243–4, 253–4; European Monetary Union and, 264–6, 278; Federal Republic of Germany, 297–8; Spinoza on, 111–12
- Soviet Union, 30, 47, 69, 145, 179, 192, 194, 201, 230; collapse of, 231, 232, 250, 268; as other, 295, 296
- Spaak, Paul-Henri, 233, 235
- space, complex vs. simple, 226
- Spain, 6, 46, 57, 65, 74, 75, 123, 205, 217, 239, 323; colonialism in, 15, 145; and European Community, 237, 240, 258n78; Francoism and, 322, 328–9; legitimacy, 329–30; nationalisms in, 317–19, 326; as nation-state, 320–1; and Netherlands, 13, 96, 97–8, 107–8; political factions in, 327–30
- SPD. *See* Social Democratic Party
- Spinelli, Altiero, 8, 18–19, 242
- Spinoza, Baruch, 5, 96; on religion and state, 103–4; on sovereignty, 111–12; works of, 98
- stability pact, for European Monetary Union, 282–3
- Stadhouder*, 97, 102, 106, 111
- Staël, Germaine de, 17, 124; works of, 125

- state(s), 8, 9, 14, 22, 30, 63, 119, 222, 332;
 Congress of Vienna and, 127–8;
 constitutional, 5–6; development of,
 131–5; independent, 333, 339;
 operation of, 2, 3
 States General, 97, 101, 102
 states-system, 63, 66
 stereotyping: and national consciousness,
 173–4; self-, 166, 167
 Stirner, Max, 328
 Stoiber, Prime Minister, 309
 Strabo, 4, 37, 39, 41
 Stradanus, Johannes, 50
 Sully, Duc de, Grand Design and, 14, 54
 Swabey, Marie, 221
 Sweden, 58, 238, 239, 285
 Switzerland, 121, 234, 238, 239, 254
 symbolism, 25, 146
 Taine, Hippolyte-Adolphe, 48
 tariffs, 256, 258–9
 Taylor, Charles, 339, 344, 354
 technology, 50, 63, 68, 78
 Terrio, Susan, 168
 territory, Greek issues of, 163–4
 Terror, the, 21
 Thatcher, Margaret, 142, 229
 Thatcherism, 142, 144
 Thermidorian regime, 120
 Thiery, Augustin, *Réorganisation de la
 société européenne*, 180
 Thiers, Louis Adolphe, 6
 Thierse, Wolfgang, 2, 304
 Thirty Years War, 13
 Thomas Aquinas, Saint, 73
 Thomasius, Christian, 84
 Thomas of Strasbourg, 86
Thouros (Velestinlis), 181
 Thrace, 60
 Tiepolo, Giambattista, 51
 Tilly, Charles, *Coercion, Capital, and the
 European States, 990–1990*, 317–18
 Tindermans, Leo, 241
 Tindermans Report, 241
 Tocqueville, Alexis-Charles-Henri Clérel
 de, 5, 48
 tolerance, 100–1, 102, 332
 Toulon, 46
 Tractarianism, 222
Tractatus Politicus (Spinoza), 98, 112
Tractatus Theologico-politicus (Spinoza),
 98
 trade, 73, 74; European Community and,
 254, 255, 256–7; international, 15, 73,
 79, 238–9
 Trappenhaus, 51
 treaties, 64, 123, 254; European Union
 and, 27–8, 229. *See also by name*
 Treaty on European Union. *See* Maastricht
 Treaty
 Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 216; *The Rise of
 Christian Europe*, 215, 216
 Troy, 34–5
 Turkey, 12–13, 68, 239; and European
 Community, 211, 234; Ottoman
 hegemony of, 46, 61; as threat, 212–13.
See also Ottoman Empire
 Turks, 61, 153; as other, 49–50; as threat,
 212–13
 Tuscany, 79
 Twelve Years' Truce, 96, 97
 Tyre, 34
 UCD. *See* Unión de Centro Democrático
 Ukraine, 68
 Ukrainians, 61
 Ultramontanism, 222
 unification, 2, 9, 11, 22, 179–80, 183, 185,
 232, 287; commerce and, 18–19;
 European, 171, 181, 192, 229–30, 244;
 Germany and, 298–9
 uniformity, 124, 125, 126, 222
 Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD), 329
 United Kingdom, 22, 29, 31, 48, 65, 67,
 68, 69, 192, 205, 215, 223, 227n35,
 229, 233, 234, 245, 256, 258n78, 323;
 colonialism of, 10, 15, 145; and EFTA,
 238, 239; and European Community,
 230, 231, 237, 242, 243; and European
 Monetary Union, 263, 282, 285;
 imperialism of, 19, 67; individualism in,
 153, 154
 United Nations, 146, 213, 334
 United Provinces. *See* Dutch Republic
 United States, 26, 68–9, 177, 192, 230,
 234, 323, 333, 352; and currency
 fluctuation, 266–7; disorder in, 153–4;
 and European Monetary Union, 276–7,
 284; individualism in, 139–40
 United States of Europe, 176, 177, 178,
 184, 192, 230, 298, 314–15
 unity: European, 17, 192, 219, 295–6,
 298–9, 315–16; spiritual, 197–8
 universalism, 81, 123, 134, 168, 175;
 French Revolution and, 120–1, 122
 universities, 83–4
 University of Leipzig, 84
 upper class, 85
 Ural Mountains, 47, 58
 urban life, 40, 49, 80, 130
 Urla, Jacqueline, 146
 Uruguay Round, 255
 Utrecht, Treaty of, 14, 64, 65, 66, 96
 vagabonds, 72
 Valéry, 206

- Valmy, battle of, 178
 van de Klashorst, 112
 van Gelderen, 112
 Van Gend en Loos, 256, 258
 Vatra, 181
 Vattel, Emeric de, *Le Droit des gens, ou principes de la loi naturelle appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains*, 48
 Vauvenargues, 96
 Veletinlis, Rhigas, 18; *Thouros*, 181
 Velthuysen, Lambertus van, 98
 Venice, 79, 123, 134
 Ventotene, 192
Verbrüderung, 132
 Vernier, Bernard, 161
 Versailles, Congress of, 173
 Versailles, Treaty of, 15
 Vespucci, Amerigo, 50
Viaggio a Reims, Il (Rossini), 116–17, 125
 Vico, Giambattista, 148, 149
Vielfalt Europas, Die (Gadamer), 197
 Vienna, Congress of, geographic changes, 127–8
 Vikings, 74
 villages, autonomy of, 73
 violence, 212
 Virgil, *Aeneid*, 34–5
 Vitoria, Francisco de, 15
 Vives, Juan Luis, 14, 175
 Voltaire, 9, 37, 40, 62, 63, 118, 119; *Age of Louis XIV*, 64; *History of Russia under Peter the Great*, 58, 65–6; *Le siècle de Louis XV*, 175
 Von Ribbentrop, 191
 Vorstius, Conrad, 101
 Waigel, Theo, 313
 Wars of the Fronde, 64
 Wars of Religion, 64, 65
 Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 64
 warfare, 7, 13–14, 68, 342; France and, 119–20, 121; and national identity, 178–9; Spanish-Dutch, 107–8
 Wassenaer, Gerard van, 109–10; *Arcana in Republics and Principalities*, 105
 Weber, Max, 8, 129, 138; on citizenship, 131–7; works of, 130
 Wehner, Herbert, 299
 Weimar Republic, 295
 welfare, 91
 Welsh, 31
 Werner Report, 266
 Western Europe, 201
 Western European Union, 303
 Western European Union Treaty, 233
 West Germany, 69, 296, 268–9, 314–15.
 See also Germany
 Westphalia, Peace of, 13, 14, 64, 94, 96, 98; republicanism and, 107–8
 WEU. *See* Western European Union
What Is Enlightenment? (Kant), 334
 White Paper, 242–3, 244
 Williams, Raymond, 215
 William II of Orange, 98, 109
 William III, 95, 96, 106
 Wilson, James, 41
 Wilson, Woodrow, 333–4, 339
 Wintle, Michael, 214
Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Weber), 130
 Wolff, Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 66–7
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 87
Worcester v. the State of Georgia, 352
 workers' international, 183–4
 World Trade Organization (WTO), 232, 255
 World War I, 185, 192
 World War II, 20, 185, 191, 192, 233, 312
Wretched of the Earth (Fanon), 337–8
 WTO. *See* World Trade Organization
 Würzburg, Prince-Bishops of, 51
 Young, Iris Marion, 357–8
Young Europe (Mazzini), 181, 182
Young Italy (Mazzini), 181
 Yugoslavia, 146, 185, 201
 Zabusky, Stacia, 146
Zentrum, 295
 Zeus, 34
 Zollverein, 176