

Contents

Introduction	1
PART I. THE DISCOVERY OF MODERNITY: ENLIGHTENED STATECRAFT, DISCOURSES OF REFORM, AND CIVILIZATIONAL NARRATIVES	
1. The Politics of Improvement: European Models and Local Traditions	25
1.1 Forging a new “reason of state”	25
1.2 Legitimizing and reforming the estate system	43
1.3 Patriotic allegiance and national mobilization	56
2. National Projects and Civilizational Hierarchies	67
2.1 Expansion of the “public sphere”	67
2.2 Polishing the language: The emergence of vernacularism and its political subtext	78
2.3 Ancient glory and stadial development: Enlightenment narratives of the past	91
2.4 The rising interest in archaism and the problem of the “internal other”	105
3. The Repercussions of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars	116
3.1 Fascination and abhorrence	116
3.2 The “Historical Sublime” knocking at the back door: Napoleon and East Central Europe	126
3.3 After 1815: Legitimism and the harbingers of Romantic Nationalism	132
PART II. SPIRITUALIZING MODERNITY: THE ROMANTIC FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL IDEAS	
4. “Playing the Piano that does not yet have Strings”? The Cultural-Political Programs of the “National Revivals”	143
4.1 The long life of Enlightenment ideas	143
4.2 The quest for emancipation	152

4.3	“Not dead, but sleepeth”: Discourses of national awakening	168
4.4	Ruins and resurrections: The search for suitable ancestors	181
4.5	Between national and supranational loyalties	191
4.6	From “Missionism” to Messianism	203
5.	Political Visions of the <i>Vormärz</i>	214
5.1	The emergence of the liberal nationalist project	214
5.2	Moderates and radicals in the reform movement	220
5.3	Critiques of national awakening	228
6.	Brotherhood and Disappointment: 1848 and its Aftermath	236
6.1	Visions of revolutionary transformation	236
6.2	The “social issue” during the revolutions	246
6.3	The clash of national aspirations	254
6.4	Ideologists of the Counter-Revolution: Forward to the Past?	265
6.5	The aftermath of the Revolution: Self-criticism and anti-absolutism	269
PART III. INSTITUTIONALIZING MODERNITY: CONCEPTIONS OF STATE-BUILDING AND NATION-BUILDING IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY		277
7.	The Interplay of National and Imperial Principles of Organization	281
7.1	Solving the riddle of the “Eastern Question”	281
7.2	“With you, Our Most Gracious Monarch, we stay and wish to stay”: Ideologies of Compromise, Dualism, and Trialism	291
7.3	The rise of pan-national ideologies	309
8.	The Political Implications of Positivism	318
8.1	The “critical turns”: Challenging the Romantic constructions	318
8.2	Positivist historical narratives	328
8.3	Studying the nation	339
8.4	Overcoming backwardness: The discourses of “national economy”	346
9.	The Rise and Fall of “National Liberalism” after 1848	356
9.1	The paradigm shift of the liberal doctrine	356
9.2	Liberalism and the “Church Question”	368
9.3	The anti-liberal left	376
9.4	The merger of ethnicism and conservatism: The emergence of political anti-Semitism	382

PART IV. TAMING MODERNITY: THE <i>FIN DE SIÈCLE</i> AND THE RISE OF MASS POLITICS	391
10. Liberals, Conservatives, and Mass Politics	395
10.1 Responses to “politics in a new key”	395
10.2 The limits of liberalism	401
10.3 The new conservatives: Attempts at mobilization	408
10.4 <i>Fin-de-siècle</i> religion and politics: Between modernism and neo-traditionalism	414
10.5 The rise of integral nationalism	425
11. The Left and the Ambiguity of the Marxist Package	431
11.1 Civic radicalism: Intellectuals in search of a new identity	431
11.2 Socialism and underdevelopment	446
11.3 Agrarian populism: An East Central European local tradition?	469
11.4 Anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists: Contesting evolutionary socialism	484
12. Coping with Diversity	495
12.1 Multiethnicity as a political issue	495
12.2 Federalism as a solution to the nationality question	512
12.3 Supranational theories and transnational movements	529
12.4 The “Jewish Question”: The entanglement of assimilation, anti-Semitism, and Zionism	544
13. The Faces of Modernity	564
13.1 The modernization of historiography and the sociological gaze	564
13.2 Individualism, decadence, and collective regeneration	581
13.3 The “Women’s Question” and feminism	593
14. The Great War	609
14.1 War aims and visions of the future	609
14.2 Projects of regional reorganization	624
14.3 National mobilization and social disintegration	631
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	641
<i>Index</i>	675