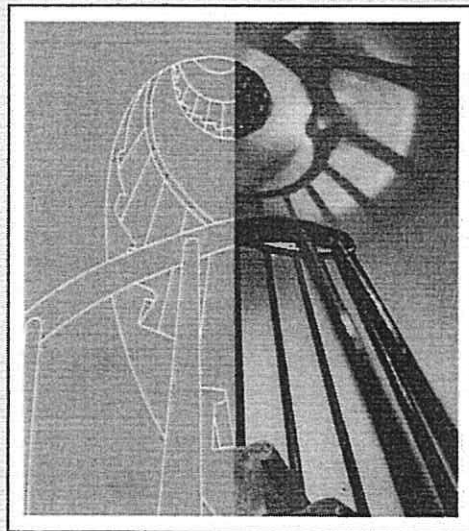


STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT II

TRUST AND HAPPINESS
IN THE HISTORY OF
EUROPEAN POLITICAL
THOUGHT



Edited by

LÁSZLÓ KONTLER AND MARK SOMOS

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The notions of happiness and trust as cements of the social fabric and political legitimacy have a long history in Western political thought. However, despite the great contemporary relevance of both subjects, and burgeoning literatures in the social sciences around them, historians and historians of thought have, with some exceptions, unduly neglected them. In *Trust and Happiness in the History of European Political Thought*, editors László Kontler and Mark Somos bring together twenty scholars from different generations and academic traditions to redress this lacuna by contextualising historically the discussion of these two notions from ancient Greece to Soviet Russia. Confronting this legacy and deep reservoir of thought will serve as a tool of optimising the terms of current debates.

Contributors include: Erica Benner, Hans W. Blom, Niall Bond, Alberto Clerici, Cesare Cuttica, John Dunn, Ralf-Peter Fuchs, Gábor Gángó, Steven Johnstone, László Kontler, Sara Lagi, Adriana Luna-Fabritius, Adrian O'Connor, Eva Odzuck, Kálmán Pócza, Vladimir Ryzhkov, Peter Schröder, Petra Schulte, Mark Somos, Alexey Tikhomirov, Bee Yun, and Hannes Ziegler.

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Adolf Fischhof and the National Question in the Habsburg Empire: A Problem of 'Trust' and 'Collaboration' amongst the Nationalities of Austria (1869–1885)

Sara Lagi

1 Adolf Fischhof: Introducing the Person

In recent years, we have witnessed a growing interest in the history, development and the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. What seems to attract historians to the subject, in particular, is the character and nature of the *Vielvölkerstaat*. The subject known as the "national question" explores the problematic relations between the many nationalities that composed it, namely between Austria's non-German nationalities and the Austro-Germans – representing in many respects the leading national group – and between the non German nationalities and the central government.¹ Many recent studies have focused on the reconstruction of the causes that led to the dissolution of the Empire. Equally important are the studies dedicated specifically to political thought, to the doctrines developed by Habsburg theorists, writers and thinkers regarding the national question.²

1 K. Raptis, "Discover or Achievement? Reflections on the Habsburg Empire, 1848–1918," *Historia*, no. 5 (2005): 119–129.

2 Limiting myself to the English secondary literature: Richard J. Evans, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs. Central Europe 1683–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1979], 2006); Alan Sked, *The Decline and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815–1918* (London New York: Longman, [1989], 2001); Emil Brinx, Klaus Koch, Elizabeth Vyslozin, eds., *The Decline of Empires* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 2001); Aviel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of the Empires* (London New York: Routledge, 2001); Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: the Battle for Hearts and Minds* (London: MacMillan Press, 2000); Id., *The Last Days of Austria-Hungary* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001); Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Joseph W. Esherick, Hasan Kayali, Eric van Young, eds., *Empire and Nations. Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

In the majority of the scientific literature around this theme, whether purely historical or concerning political doctrine, the name of Adolf Fischhof often appears. Fischhof (1816–1893), physician, writer and political thinker, was born in Buda (Ofen) into a Jewish family. His life was characterized by two major political issues of profound relevance to him: the guarantee of civil and political freedoms and the solution to the Habsburg national question. He was a political thinker and writer of liberal inspiration,³ meaning that he believed in the guarantee of individual and fundamental rights, he was against the idea of an excessively centralized government oppressing and threatening freedoms and rights; he advocated tolerance, freedom of speech and freedom of the press. He looked at “power” – in the broadest sense of the term – as something to contain and limit.⁴

Yet, using the term “liberal” to introduce Fischhof needs for an important clarification both of terminology and of content. Politically speaking, Fischhof belonged to the Austro-German left-liberals. As J. Kwan recently noted, since 1848, – when a massive wave of protests and revolutions destabilized the European continent, including the Habsburg Empire, – Austro-German liberalism “developed its ideas with the intention of regenerating and modernizing the Habsburg monarchy, its state system, administration, economy and society in general.”⁵

Fischhof, with his plan of reforms to solve the national question, fits into this definition. In fact, in his opinion, correctly addressing the national question and the tensions it generated was a means to modernize the Empire as a whole. Fischhof’s work, his proposals for pacifying relations between the different Habsburg nationalities served as a point of reference for such renowned politicians as Karl Renner, the Austrian Social Democratic leader who was, himself, a political thinker and writer. It would have been Renner himself who referenced his great intellectual debt regarding Fischhof’s political works whose influence is, above all, evident in one of the most celebrated works of the Social Democratic leader, dedicated to the reform of the Austro-Hungarian

3 In this specific case I am referring to the definition of liberalism and “liberal spirit” elaborated by David J. Manning in his fundamental *Liberalism*, according to whom liberalism implies a view of power as limited in order to protect individual freedom, minorities and “society’s dynamism”. This is a general definition in part describing the political idealism professed by Fischhof throughout his life. See: David J. Manning, *Liberalism* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1976), 15.

4 See: Richard Charvatz, *Adolf Fischhof. Das Lebensbild eines österreichischen Politikers* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1910), 18 ff.

5 Jonathan Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy 1861–1895* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 1 ff.

Empire. Equally significant and worthy of mention is Fischhof's intellectual collaboration with Rabbi Adolf Jellinek, considered one of the highest authorities in the study of Jewish theology, and with Jellinek's famous son, the jurist and expert theorist of public law, Georg Jellinek. Even Karl Lueger, the leader of the conservative Christian Social Party, regarded Fischhof as a friend and mentor.⁶

As I will refer to in the following pages, Fischhof shared with Austro-German liberals the belief in the greatness of German culture, basically considered by them as the personification of "universal human values".⁷ In the present article I will make some references to this "duality" in Fischhof's political thought – discussed and stressed by academic literature⁸ – i.e. the fact that, on the one hand, he was a great advocate of liberal and democratic ideals, confident in the possibility of a peaceful resolution to the national question, while on the other hand, he defended Austro-Germans as the dominant nationality.⁹ In their works, for example, Peter Judson and more recently Ian Reifowitz have stressed the fundamental "contradiction" in Fischhof between an open tolerance of different nationalities and an equally strong conviction, shared by all Austro-German liberals of his generation and also among most members of the Jewish community who resided in the Empire, that the Austro-Germans embodied and maintained "cultural supremacy" within the Empire. Reifowitz openly uses the term "selfish liberalism" to define and identify in Fischhof's

6 See: Karl Renner, *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen* (Leipzig-Wien: J. Deuticke Verlag, 1917); also, Peter Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience and National Identity in the Austrian Empire 1848–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

7 Ibid., 6 ff. See also about this aspect: Peter Bugge, *Contradictions in Terms? The Relationship Between the Czech and the Austrian German Liberalism in the Late Habsburg Empire*, online version accessible at: www.is.muni.cz, 2 ff, where we can read that: "from an Austrian-German point of view Czechs could as individuals gain full political rights but only through the acquisition of a German Bildung".

8 I am specifically referring to the works of Peter Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience and National Identity in the Austrian Empire 1848–1914* and Ian Reifowitz, *Imagining an Austrian Nation. Joseph Samuel Bloch and the Search for a Supraethnic Austrian Identity, 1846–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See, in particular, Chapter 2, "Bloch's Mentor: Adolf Fischhof and His Plan for Reform in Austria" and by the same author, "Threads Intertwined: German National Egoism and Liberalism in Adolf Fischhof's Vision for Austria," *Nationalities Papers* 29, no. 3 (2001): 441–458.

9 With regards to this aspect, other than the cited contributions of Judson e Reifowitz, see also Robert A. Kann, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico 1526–1918*, It. trans. [New York: 1974], (Roma: Salerno Editrice 1998), 144 ff.

political thought the co-existence of a serious reformist spirit and the belief in the cultural and political supremacy of Austro-Germans.¹⁰

The present essay has taken into consideration Reifowitz's contributions. Yet, unlike Judson and Reifowitz, my primary interest is not so much to focus on this "contradiction", as to discuss about the genuine sensibility Fischhof showed towards non-German nationalities, a kind of sensibility that made him profoundly different from the large majority of Austro-German liberals who criticized Fischhof's proposals on the nationality question as too "pro-Slavic". In all his works Fischhof showed a deep "empathy" for the demands and needs of Habsburg nationalities that might have been due to his Jewish-Hungarian origins.¹¹

As far Fischhof as a political writer is concerned, I will examine two of the Jewish thinker's most significant writings published in the late 1860s and mid-1880s,¹² years, that meant for him intense intellectual production and, for the Empire, substantial tensions among the various Habsburg nationalities. As I will seek to show, Fischhof's writings delineate the national question according to the principle of a renewed "accord", "collaboration" and reciprocal "trust" ("Vertrauen") among the Habsburg nationalities. In his writings on the *Nationalitätenfrage* Fischhof often used terms such as "trust", "accord", "collaboration", "friendship", "solidarity". A preliminary clarification is due: all these terms were used by Fischhof as common sense notions. In his works "trust" was, first all, synonymous with "confidence", "belief" and "freedom from suspicion" and similarly "collaboration" was related to the notion of "partnership", "cooperation" and "joint effort". In the first instance when using these words Fischhof referred to human sentiments. The peculiar way in which Fischhof used these terms was connected with his particular idea of nationalities: in all his works Fischhof compared the nationalities of Austria to "individuals" who could

10 See: Ian Reifowitz, *Threads Intertwined*, 453. Of the same opinion, also, Peter Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience and National Identity in the Austrian Empire 1848–1914*.

11 See: Ahmet Ersoy, Maciej Górny, Vangelis Kechriotis, eds., *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945). Texts and Commentaries. Modernism and the Creation of Nation States*, vol. III (Budapest-New York: CEU Press, 2010), 35–36.

12 The works considered for this article are: *Österreich und die Bürgerschaften seines Bestandes. Politische Studie* (1869) and *Die Sprachenrechte in den Staaten gemischter Nationalität*, (1885). The first is the most complete and articulate that Fischhof left us on the national question; and the second is one of his main contributions to the language question, which also contains a series of reflections that were already evident in the 1869 monograph.

peacefully coexist only if they learned reciprocal respect, "trust", "cooperation" and mutual support.¹³

Yet, these common sense notions, – literally disseminated throughout all his writings, – acquire a relevant connotation in terms of the History of Political Thought, because, – as I will show, – the sentiment of "collaboration", "accord", "solidarity", "trust", "friendship" amongst the nationalities of Austria could be achieved, according to Fischhof, through a political reform plan that aimed to harmonize freedom, nationality and political unity. Such reform plan had to make the Habsburg monarchy a true "Gesamtstaat" and thereby carry out a true "national reconciliation".¹⁴ For Fischhof, the core question was to understand how concretely to attain that specific and complex condition is met: in his writings, dating back to the 1860s and 1880s, Fischhof sought to imagine and delineate a political system made up of nationalities living in harmony, trusting and respecting each other as if they were "human individuals" belonging to the same community.

Consequently, this essay will delineate the specific questions that Fischhof posed regarding the national question, his proposed solutions, and, in particular, how a true broader *political reflection* emerged from his plan of reform which, although propelled by the specific Habsburg situation, embodied one of the quintessential themes of European political thought: the *conditions* and *factors* that allow a State, wrought with internal friction and characterized by linguistic and national diversity such as the Habsburg Empire, to establish a true and effective political unity, preserving its existence.

2 The National Question

Fischhof's first appearance on the political scene occurred during the wave of revolution that swept through continental Europe in 1848. Of liberal and democratic ideals, Fischhof was part of the Constituent Assembly of Kremsier, founded by rebel members who withdrew from Vienna's parliament following the beginning of the insurgency in the Austrian Empire. The call for a true constitutional monarchy intertwined with the demands for greater freedom and autonomy for all Habsburg nationalities. As a member of parliament, Fischhof intervened on two issues which would subsequently become the *leitmotif* of his writings between the 1860s and 1880s: the necessity to guarantee "Grundrechte"

13 In particular, I am referring to his *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes. Politische Studie* (1869).

14 Jonathan Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy 1861–1895*, 4 ff.

(fundamental rights) throughout the Empire, and the importance of a timely, efficient, and, above all, democratic solution to the national question, which would, – as Fischhof himself sustained in one of his speeches to the Assembly, – transform the Empire into a “Gesamtstaat”. By this term he meant a true State, a true “supra-ethnic” State, which had to preserve and defend its multinational component while avoiding any form of centralism.¹⁵ The category and concept of State, – as well as that of nation, – occupied a place of great relevance in the nineteenth century European political thought and culture. This was true for central European national liberals and for Austro-German liberals too.¹⁶

For Fischhof, the extreme relevance of this concept and term began to take shape during the rebellions of 1848, when the idea of a solid and stable “Gesamtstaat”, considered as the ultimate goal for the good of all Habsburg nationalities, emerged as one of the core meanings and central themes of his political commitment and further political writings. The Assembly of Kremsier drew up a catalogue of fundamental rights (“Grundrechte”) and, subsequently, a constitution which, for the first time, recognized the principle of national “Gleichberechtigung”, namely, the concept that all “Völkerstämme” (people) of the Empire, regardless of their nationality, should enjoy equal rights.¹⁷

15 See the (only) official biography of Fischhof: Richard Charmatz, *Fischhof. Das Lebensbild eines österreichischen Politikers*, 93–100. Also, Werner Jacob Cahnmann, “Adolf Fischhof and His Jewish Followers,” *Leo Beck Institute Yearbook* 4 (1959): 111–140.

16 Oskar Mulej, *National Liberal Heirs of the Old Austria: “Deviations” in Liberal Party Traditions, 1867–1918*, in Agata Lisiak, Natalie Smolenski, eds., *What do Ideas do?* (Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences, 2014). The essay is now accessible at the web site of the Institut für Wissenschaften vom Menschen, Vienna: www.iwm.at. Also, see: Maciej Janowski, “Wavering Friendship: Liberal and National Ideas in Nineteenth Century East-Central Europe,” *Ab Imperio* 3–4 (2000): 69–90.

17 Stephan Walz, *Staat, Nationalität und Jüdische Identität in Österreich-Ungarn vom 18. Jahrhundert bis 1914* (New York: Peter Lang 2000), 70 ff; Klaus Lohrmann, *Zwischen Finanz und Toleranz. Das Haus Habsburg und die Juden. Ein historischer Essay* (Wien: Styria, 2000), 202 ff. Also, see: Christoph Pan-Beate Sybille Pfeil, eds., *Zur Entstehung des modernen Minderheitenschutzes der Europäischen Volksgruppen* (Wien New York: Springer Verlag, 2006), 45–46. I would like to cite a passage from a speech given by Fischhof, 4 January 1849, when the Assembly of Kremsier approved the catalogue of fundamental rights. His words during this solemn occasion exemplified his political vision and his liberal and democratic approach to the national question: “Even if this Declaration is wrong in its motivations and its realization, a goal would have been achieved: it has taught us unity. In these times, there were not Czech, German, Polish, but the representatives of the Austrian people. [...] For too long we have argued over the “golden chalice” of nationality and, because we have been busy arguing, we have forgotten the “core” of the matter: freedom. I hope that, being fully aware of the ploys used by certain perfidious politics to oppose the nations and

However, the constitution written by the rebel members remained only a draft because of a ingenious move by the Emperor Francis Joseph who granted a constitutional charter which superseded the Kremsier charter and which sanctioned the end of the revolutionary movement.¹⁸

After the rebellion was suppressed, Fischhof's fate was similar to that of many who had participated in the political battle. He was imprisoned for several months and subsequently faced many difficulties in his efforts to return to his practice as a physician.¹⁹ Fischhof's work was limited to a series of articles written for daily Viennese newspapers in the 1850s, a period which saw the triumph of the emperor's "neo-absolutism", – namely the imposition of a "state bureaucracy: supranational, centralized, in theory incorruptible, and controlled form Vienna".²⁰

He returned in grand style in 1861 with *Zur Lösung der ungarischen Frage* (*For a Solution to the Hungarian Question*), written in collaboration with his friend and renowned jurist, Joseph Unger (1828–1913). The work arose, primarily, as a critical reflection on the October Diploma granted by the Emperor in October of 1860 and put into practice the following year. The October Diploma was none other than a new charter *octroyé* in which Francis Joseph granted concessions to the nationalities of the Empire, in particular, to the Hungarians, essentially, to impede their inciting another rebellion (as they had done

lead them to dispute [...] we can forget our prejudices and fraternally offer our hands to safeguard liberty". Complete speech in Richard Charnatz, *Fischhof. Das Lebensbild eines österreichischen Politikers*, 104–105.

18 Klaus Lohrmann, *Zwischen Finanz und Toleranz*, 202–203. See also, William O. McCagg Jr., *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 90–91.

19 See: Richard Charnatz, *Fischhof. Das Lebensbild eines österreichischen Politikers*; Dieter Dowe, ed., *Europe in 1848. Revolution and Reform* (London: Berghan Books, 2001), 758 ff.

20 Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 126; See also: Lothar Höbelt, *Franz Joseph. Der Kaiser und sein Reich. Eine politische Geschichte* (Wien Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 17 ff. For a less critical approach to the era of "neo-absolutism": John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State. State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 99 ff, where we read that: "Austria's era of neo-absolutism saw the creation of a new network of State authority that reached deep into the heart of the Austrian countryside. [...] The State stuck roots at the local level and acquired a deeper knowledge of its lands and peoples, which could help the State develop comprehensive plans for managing them. Even more importantly neo-absolutism created internal structures of administration and channels of authority that would persist until the end of the monarchy". *Ibid.*, 134.

in 1848) using to their advantage the political crisis that followed the 1859 defeat in the war against Italy.²¹

According to Fischhof and Unger, the Diploma was an inefficient and incomplete document, ill-suited to quell the discontent which, for too long, had spread throughout Hungary towards the excessive political centralization implemented by Vienna. Both Fischhof and Unger maintained that the main serious limitation of the new charter was the absence of the right to a democratic vote, as well as the inability of governments to make Austria a true "Gesamtstaat" without "impairing the legitimate claims of individual parties for greater autonomy". In other words, the "original sin" of the ruling class and the Emperor himself was to have confused broad effective power – needed to ensure the existence of any state – with strongly centralized politics. Unitary state did not mean – Fischhof and Unger stressed – centralized State. In other words, the "Gesamtstaat" described by Fischhof and Unger had to be unitary not centralized. According to both thinkers, centralism had dangerous implications for liberty and for the relationships among the many nationalities composing the Empire.²²

The idea of a multinational and multilingual Habsburg State which could reconcile power and greater freedom for individual nationalities reemerged a few years later in the most important of Fischhof's works, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes. Politische Studie (Austria and the Conditions of Its Existence. A Political Study)*, published in 1869, two years after the promulgation of the new constitution that had "divided" the Empire into two states: Austria, which corresponded to the western territory (Cisleithania) of the Empire, and Hungary, which corresponded to the eastern territory (Transleithania). Both were subject to a single monarch who served as Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.²³ It should be noted that the constitution of 1867 was only valid for the western half of the Empire, since the Hungarian constitution, rooted in the Pragmatic Sanction, remained in force in the east.²⁴ More precisely, Austria and Hungary had two parliaments, but military and foreign policy were the jurisdiction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a unified entity. The Emperor, therefore, was the supreme head of state of both Hungary and Austria.²⁵

21 Jean Bérenger, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico (1700–1918)*, It. trans. [Paris 1990], (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004), 54.

22 Richard Charmatz, *Fischhof. Das Lebensbild eines österreichischen Politikers*, 149.

23 Ariel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires*, 8–11.

24 Robert A. Kann, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico 1526–1918*, 403; Marek Waldenberg, *Le questioni nazionali nell'Europa centro-orientale* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1994).

25 Finance belonged to the jurisdiction of the Emperor only related to the common military and foreign policy i.e. there was every ten years contact on how to finance the military and

The *Ausgleich* of 1867 was, in fact, a "compromise" between two distinct states, which remained, respectively, "united". Within each, however, different nationalities resided, nationalities that resented the predominance of the Austro-Germans in Cisleithania and the Magyars in Transleithania.²⁶ Aware of the delicate political balance sanctioned in the new constitution, in 1869, Fischhof published an impressive monograph which investigated the "conditions of the existence of Austria".²⁷ It is important to stress that by "Austria", Fischhof was referring to the western territories of the monarchy.²⁸ In his book of 1869 Fischhof referred exclusively to the nationality question within Cisleithania. This does not mean that he was not interested in what happened in the other half of the Empire. He warmly welcomed the Hungarian Nationality Law of 1868, because it granted adequate provisions for the use of non-Hungarian languages. Moreover, in his *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes. Politische Studie* Fischhof mentioned the work of Baron József Eötvös (1813–1871) as the leading Hungarian expert of nationality questions.²⁹

Fischhof feared that, in the long term, the Constitution of 1867, being – in his opinion – substantially centralizing, would irrevocably damage the already difficult relations between the Austro-Germans and the non-German nationalities, with disastrous effects for the whole Empire. He reminded both "sides of Lethia [Cisleithania and Transleithania]" that "any nationality [...] at any moment, was capable of endangering the Empire", and, therefore, it was imperative to find a "common solution" capable of preserving and "consolidating Austria".³⁰ Fischhof was convinced that the *pacification* of relations among nationalities in Austria would signify a progressive step towards the preservation and strengthening of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a whole. The concept of pacification is so central and of capital importance to Fischhof that, according to D. Laqua, we should situate the Habsburg thinker among the precursors to the so-called "Austrian pacifism".³¹

The point, in Fischhof's opinion, was to restore and promote, through a serious plan of political reforms, a new spirit of peace and collaboration in Austria.

the foreign policy but nothing else was common regarding the finance. Ariel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires*, 8–11.

26 Robert A. Kann, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico 1526–1918*, 412–418.

27 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes. Politische Studie* (Wien: Wallishaussersche Buchhandlung, 1869), 1–2.

28 To avoid misunderstandings, recall that before *Ausgleich*, the term, Austria, denotes the entire Empire, and after 1867, the territories of Cisleithania.

29 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 44.

30 *Ibid.*, 1.

31 Daniel Laqua, "Pacifism in Fin-de-Siècle Austria: the Politics and Limits of Peace Activism," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 1 (2014), 202.

In order to elaborate a concrete solution to the national question, in his view it was necessary, to have a full understanding of the very particular structure of the Austrian State.

The physician and political thinker identified the constituent parts of Austria as the "nationalities", the "territory", and the "Kronländer".³² Such a premise helped to establish and emphasize the substantial difference that existed between "nation state" and "multinational state":³³ if the first was to be properly understood as "a family of people", the second, however, was a "union of peoples". Aware of the Austrian multinational identity, he thought that the Western European model of nation-state – notably the French one established following to the French Revolution – could not be carried out within Austria because it implied ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. In his reference to the Western European model of Nation-State, Fischhof seemed to recall to the Hungarian József Eötvös who had elaborated an articulated critical reflection on the same topic in the first volume of his *Die Herrschenden Ideen des 19. Jahrhunderts auf den Staat* (*The Leading nineteenth century Ideas on the State*) (1851).³⁴ Fischhof's bibliographical references to Eötvös in *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes. Politische Studie* show that he knew the Hungarian intellectual's work.³⁵

32 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 3–4. Crown Lands: after 1867 this term referred to the Cisleithanian lands, excluding the lands under the Hungarian Crown.

33 To translate the term: "Vielvölkerstaat". The definition of Austria as a multinational state would have been revived more depth some years later by another interesting Jewish Austrian political thinker, Joseph Samuel Bloch (1850–1923), who, like Fischhof, studied in depth the Habsburg national question. On this author, the principal work of Ian Reifowitz, *Imagining an Austrian Nation. Joseph Samuel Bloch and the Search for a Supraethnic Austrian Identity, 1846–1918*.

34 See: József Eötvös, *Die Herrschenden Ideen des 19. Jahrhunderts auf den Staat*, 1 Teil (Wien: Dr. Manz Verlag, 1851); the second part of the book was published (Wien: Dr. Manz Verlag, 1854). See also: Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 44.

35 *Ibid.*, 65–66. Read: "All inhabitants of a nation state are united by the physical bond of blood, by the spiritual bond of language, as well as by a common destiny and military and literary glory. Hundreds of spiritual bonds unite the citizens. The one willingly sacrifices his rights for the benefit of the greater family. The situation is completely different in a complex of territories and nationalities. In this case there is no deep physical relationship, nor blood relationship, there is only that magic power of language like an electric current running through the community". *Ibid.*, 68. A definition of "nation state" and "multinational state" was clearly influenced by the culture of romanticism. On this theme, Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nazione e nazionalismi*, It. trans. [Oxford: 1990], (Torino: Einaudi, 1991), 109–120. See also: John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago

Fischhof thought that the *Vielvölkerstaat*, by its very nature, was more unstable and threatened by internal conflicts. He, therefore, considered ways to prevent such threats to the existence of Austria.³⁶ With specific reference to the western territories of the monarchy, Fischhof's first recommendation was to resolve the ongoing conflict between the central institutions and "the vital interests of its peoples".³⁷ To accomplish this, he proposed a broad "decentralization", understood as "an extended autonomy" both legislative and administrative.³⁸

For Fischhof, centralization had undoubtedly constituted a fundamental element of modernity during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa but which, with time, had eventually transformed into the "monopoly of the administration by a particular nationality", a phrase that refers specifically to Austro-German domination.³⁹

This belief should be situated within a broader discussion on the friction between Habsburg nationalities. This was particularly evident, according to Fischhof, in the Vienna Parliament (Reichsrat) and regional assemblies (Landtage), which, unlike traditional parliaments, were not composed of political parties but, rather, "national parties". According to Fischhof, "national parties" were aggressive and intolerant because they did not represent ideas or convictions as much as "a national existence".⁴⁰

Moreover, the struggles of the national parties in the Landtage became true "battles for existence", and particularly radical when the delegates of certain nationalities felt cornered by those who represented the dominant national group in the Assembly. The numbers in the Assembly, Fischhof observed, often did not correspond to those existent in the local population.⁴¹ It became the case, therefore, that the national minority group came to hold the political

Press, 1985). In particular Part II, Chapter IV on *Unification Nationalism in Nineteenth century Europe*.

36 Ibid., 69.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., 71.

39 Ibid., 106 ff.

40 Ibid., 70. Fischhof's analysis of "national parties" as profoundly different from traditional political parties influenced the German, Jewish jurist and prominent representative of the nineteenth century German Juspositivism Georg Jellinek's scholarly work on *Das Recht der Minoritäten*, Wien: A. Hölder, 1898. One of the dearest Fischhof's friends was Georg Jellinek's uncle Hermann Jellinek – journalist and political figure – who participated in the Viennese rebellion of 1848 along with Fischhof himself. Derek J. Penslar, *Jews and the Military* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 59 ff.

41 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 70.

majority and to use it in order to undermine the opposing side. Paradoxically this generated a dual "dictatorship": the classic tyranny of the political majority to the detriment of the political minority and that of the national minority to the detriment of the national majority. As a result, according to Fischhof's analysis, a broad sense of "injustice" inevitably took shape and was consolidated over the years.⁴² To safeguard the survival of Austria and re-establish it on a more solid foundation, it was necessary to combat this profound resentment of "injustice" and "oppression" that united the many nationalities residing there. Fischhof referred to these resentments as the "yoke" of "Fremdherrschaft" (foreign authority):⁴³

The consolidation of a state composed of diverse nationalities, therefore, requires that no nationality feels submissive to another, for there is nothing more humiliating for a people than "Fremdherrschaft". It is, therefore, in the interests of a multinational state to take care of the sentiments of its peoples, remove from them anything that might evoke a sense of "foreign domination", and fulfill their desires as much as its internal safety would allow.⁴⁴

Among the nationalities, a prevalent sense of "accord", reciprocal "trust" ("Vertrauen"), "collaboration", "solidarity", a new and concrete sense of "friendship" rather than "fear" and "submission" should prevail, because the latter would inevitably generate a "reaction from the oppressed nationalities" against the "Austrian State". Oppression, Fischhof emphasized, led to rebellion and the desire for "liberation".⁴⁵ He cited as the principal error in the reign of Joseph II⁴⁶ the imposition of an overly centralized and oppressive system, leading to "conditions of violent backlash".⁴⁷ Therefore, beginning with Austria, it was necessary to introduce a series of reforms to make the relations between Habsburg nationalities truly "just", because only it was only this way

42 Fischhof noted the province of Moravia where the Germans, although constituting the minority of the local population, had a relative majority of seats and Dalmatia, where the Italian minority came to represent the political majority. *Ibid.*, 181-182.

43 Note the ambiguity of the term "fremd" which in German means "foreigner", "outsider" and "stranger".

44 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 70.

45 *Ibid.*, in particular 213 ff.

46 Joseph II (1741-1790) was Holy Roman Emperor from 1765 to 1790 and ruler of the Habsburg lands from 1780 to 1790. He was the son of the Empress Maria Theresa. He is commonly known as representative of the so-called enlightened absolutism.

47 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 170 ff.

that their reciprocal relationships could be based on an authentic sentiment of "friendship". Among the reforms proposed, Fischhof advocated a broad decentralization, i.e. territorial and local autonomy. More precisely he looked back to the Kremsier Constitution and suggested to provide municipalities with a broad autonomy while actively protecting minority rights in multiethnic areas. Also, he proposed a real democratic election of the Reichsrat, and the progressive transformation of Austria into a federation based on the Swiss model. To those who feared that the federal solution would lead to the dissolution of the Empire, Fischhof countered that it was the monarchical element itself, embodied by the House of Austria, that could serve as a potent "corrective against particularism".⁴⁸

He was firmly convinced that universal suffrage, without property qualifications, would be the first step toward a progressive social legislation. He believed that a renewed Austrian political and administrative system based on the principle of "self-government", autonomy and freedom would generate a new sentiment of reciprocal "trust", "friendship" and "solidarity" among the nationalities of Austria, making them feel constituent and integrative part of the same State. Again, Fischhof spoke about "trust", "friendship" and "solidarity" as notions of common sense or as feelings, sentiments but in his work these same sentiments acquired a political implication within his political reflection, not only because, in his opinion, they could be concretely established and nurtured by means of a proper political reform plan but also (and chiefly) because they were considered by him as a *condition* for making Austria a true "Gesamtstaat".

In *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes. Politische Studie*, Fischhof focused on the issue of a true equality of rights among nationalities.⁴⁹ In this sense, Fischhof seemed to only reaffirm, after two years, a principle sanctioned in article 19 of the Constitution of 1867 which, although only valid for Austria, spoke of "equality among Habsburg nations".⁵⁰ In fact, Fischhof went much further. Unlike the so-called "national rights", which were solely

48 Ibid., 197 ff. In his study of the Habsburg Empire, Kann maintains that Fischhof was substantially in favor of a broader decentralization rather than federalization. On the contrary, in *Österreich und die seines Bürgschaften Bestandes ...*, and particularly in the chapter "Einwendungen gegen die föderative Umgestaltung Österreich" Fischhof strenuously defended the federal solution, also openly contesting the maxim of Montesquieu, that the federation was only suitable for small republics.

49 Ibid., p. 68 ff. Throughout the book, Fischhof insisted on the parallel between Habsburg nationalities and individuals. For both he advocated the principle of full equality in terms of rights.

50 Robert A. Kann, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico*, 414 ff.

attributed to individuals, by which only private citizens could appeal to the Reichsgericht (Imperial Court) in the case of a violation of "national rights", Fischhof proposed to identify nationalities as "individuals" – meaning, in this case, collectivities – as "subjects of rights and obligations".⁵¹ Such a principle, if realized and implemented in the whole of the monarchy, would have legitimized the inevitable transformation of the Empire into a great federation.⁵²

For Fischhof, the recognition of full legal equality represented one of the most important steps towards counteracting the sense of "injustice" that was, in his opinion, deeply rooted in many Austrian peoples. It would serve to eliminate the insidious and persistent antagonism among the various nationalities, chiefly between Austro-Germans and non-German nationalities. This tension was proving increasingly dangerous and destabilizing for the existence, not only of Austria, but of the Empire itself. For Fischhof, the identification of nationalities as "individuals", holders of equal rights, became the necessary condition for making Austria a true "Gesamtstaat" capable of *absorbing and including* – without destroying – the plurality of peoples which constituted it, i.e., to establish a sovereign State that was capable of respecting the many nationalities that composed it. In other words, it was the best way to eradicate the sentiment of "submission", "domination" and "oppression": the "Fremdherrschaft". The solution to the national question required the extension of equal rights and freedoms to *national groups*, accompanied, as mentioned earlier, by broad decentralization, federal reform, the democratization of voting rights, as well as an effective linguistic "Gleichberechtigung", namely, the recognition of the right of each nationality to preserve and cultivate its native language. Fischhof devoted much attention and intellectual energy to this last aspect, which – as he was well aware – represented one of the core elements of the national question that needed to be seriously addressed.

3 The Language Question

In a multilingual empire in which not even the German language had succeeded in establishing itself as *Staatssprache*, in which each nationality saw in its own language an essential part of its identity, in which violent altercations erupted when ethnic and linguistic minorities felt oppressed in their right to speak and use their mother tongue, it became crucial to understand and

51 Ibid., see also Wilhelm Brauneder, *Österreichische Verfassungsgeschichte. Einführung in Entwicklung und Strukturei* (Wien: Manzsche Verlag, 1992), 163 ff.

52 Robert A. Kann, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico*, 412.

resolve the language question which, not coincidentally, was called in German "Sprachenstreit", literally "language conflict".⁵³

In the 1880s, Fischhof immersed himself in an analysis of the language problem. The present article will demonstrate how this subject is better understood within the scope of a much wider and more general reflection on the conditions necessary to make Austria a true "Gesamtstaat" by pacifying the many nationalities of Austria.⁵⁴

The 1880s was an intense period for Fischhof. It was on 16 June 1882 that he officially presented a political program for the creation of a new party, a *German Austrian People's Party*, that aimed to gather all Habsburg liberals of different ethnic lines "to act as mediator in the question of nationalities". Fischhof's efforts completely failed, because he found "few supporters among German liberals".⁵⁵ At the same time, in Austria in the final years of the 1800s, the national question was largely identified with the linguistic question. The Constitution of 1867 itself had established through article 19 that no primacy should be granted to any language spoken in Austria, establishing (at least on paper) a sort of linguistic "Gleichberechtigung".⁵⁶

Between the constitutional text and the political reality, however, there was a clear "breach" that powerfully limited the principle of equality among nationalities.⁵⁷ The Austrian German-Liberal party, which embodied the interests of the Austrian-Germans, had proposed, for example, to use German as the "State language" in the non-Hungarian territories of the Empire.⁵⁸ In 1868, in the other half of the empire, outside the jurisdiction of article 19, a Law on

53 See in this regard Hannelore Burger, *Language Rights and Linguistic Justice in the Education System of the Habsburg Monarchy* 1995, 1–12, now accessible at <http://www.incontrimitteleuropei.it>.

54 Gerald Stourzh, *The Nationality Rights in Austria*, text from a lecture given by Prof. Stourzh in 2006 at Istituto per gli incontri culturali Mitteleuropei di Gorizia, now accessible at <http://www.incontrimitteleuropei.it>. Also, Gerald Stourzh, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs 1848–1918* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1985), 56. On this aspect; see also, Robert A. Kann, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico*, 414–418 and Hans Peter Hye, *Das politische System in der Habsburgmonarchie* (Praha: Karolinum, 1998). The latter is an exhaustive overview of the Habsburg political system.

55 See: the biographical profile, Isidore Singer, *Adolf Fischhof*, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, now accessible online at: www.jewishencyclopedia.com and Ian Reifowitz, *Threads Intertwined*, 444.

56 Hannelore Burger, *Language Rights and Linguistic Justice in the Education System of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 5.

57 Gerald Stourzh, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten*, 56.

58 *Ibid.*, 85.

Nationality was passed, which established Hungarian as the official language of the Magyar nation.⁵⁹

The language controversy took a dramatic turn in the 1880s, particularly in 1882, when the German community living in Bohemia forced Minister Taaffe to withdraw the decree that would have made the Bohemian administration bilingual. No less fortunate was Minister Badeni, who failed to pass the draft of his predecessor because of violent protests and riots carried out by German-speaking delegates from without and within the central parliament.⁶⁰ Despite all efforts, and despite the Constitution of 1867, pacification within the Empire was far from becoming a reality, whether in the western or eastern territories.⁶¹

As with other intellectuals of his time, Fischhof was aware and deeply affected by the language question and the dangerous conflict it engendered in Austria. For this reason, in 1885, he published *Die Sprachenrechte in den Staaten gemischtern Nationalität* (*Language rights in States with Diverse Nationalities*), to directly concentrate on this issue, seeking to clarify how the principle of "Gleichberechtigung" could be achieved peacefully and effectively.⁶²

In Austria, nation and nationality became two principles very difficult to define because, as Fischhof observed, there existed (historically) different degrees of development and awareness among the nationalities of Austria. The first step to ensure the "spiritual growth of the individual nationalities" was to grant full rights to the use of their language.⁶³ Up to this point, Fischhof

59 Mark Waldenberg, *Le questioni nazionali nell'Europa centro-orientale*, 72–73.

60 David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum. Political Ideology, German Identity and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 158 ff; Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 156; Jean Bérenger, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico*, 375.

61 Let us remember that in Cisleithania, the western part of the Empire, article 19 was protected by both the Imperial Court (Reichsgericht) and the Administrative Court (Verwaltungsgerichtshof), the latter founded in 1876. The studies are divided between those who defend the efficacy of article 19, highlighting the positive effect that it would have on the Empire (or rather on Cisleithania) and those that were more sceptical. Among the most prominent, Hannelore Burger, *Die Vertreibung der Mehrsprachigkeit am Beispiel Österreichs 1867–1918*, in Gerd Hentschel, ed., *Über Muttersprache und Vaterländer. Zur Entwicklung von Standardsprachen und Nationen in Europa* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), the content of which was reproduced by the author in the article: *Language Rights and Linguistic Justice in the Education System of the Habsburg Monarchy*. The second group includes Robert A. Kann, *Storia dell'Impero asburgico*, 414 and Gerald Stourzh, *The Nationality Rights in Austria*.

62 Adolf Fischhof, *Die Sprachenrechte in den Staaten gemischter Nationalität* (Wien: Manzsche Verlag, 1885), 3.

63 *Ibid.*, 5.

seemed simply to strongly reaffirm the principle already stated in the Constitution of 1867. Much more interesting is the way he justified it: the linguistic "Gleichberechtigung" was above all a great "liberal"⁶⁴ achievement which, to be truly effective, had to be transformed from a mere "political principle" into a "legal concept", i.e., to be legally recognized.⁶⁵

This article [i.e., article 19] is placed among the fundamental rights, but, to become effective, it should serve as a central element around which a series of special laws is put in place.⁶⁶

For Fischhof, the principal issue was to make linguistic "Gleichberechtigung" a real and effective "fundamental right". Fischhof did not confine himself to theoretical political analysis, but, rather, advanced certain more specific proposals. For the western half of the Empire, Fischhof first advised the concrete implementation of article 19 in order to resolve the disagreements between the Reichsrat and various Landtage. Before all else, a clear division of powers was needed which would allow a better understanding of those provisions of law on nationality ("Bestimmungen") that would fall under the jurisdiction of the Reichsrat and those that would fall under the jurisdiction of the Landtage. To this end, a "constitutional safeguard" should be adjoined that would prevent the Landtage from making changes or special modifications to article 19 without a two-thirds approval from the Reichsrat.⁶⁷

With regards to local administration and language and the submission of petitions or complaints, Fischhof proposed restoring in Bohemia, with some necessary modifications, the language ordinance of 19 April 1880: every citizen could submit petitions or complaints to his constituency in his native language. Unlike the ordinance in force which required all officials of the Bohemian administration to speak both Czech and German, Fischhof proposed introducing in individual constituencies professional interpreters who would translate the petitions or complaints from German into Czech and vice versa.⁶⁸

More precisely, only in districts of mixed nationalities would Czechs and Germans be allowed to speak to their government officials in their mother

64 Ibid., 7.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., 51.

67 Ibid., 52-53. For Fischhof, both proposals were easy to achieve. Especially in Austria, the situation became more complicated regarding the Austro-Germans, on the one hand, and the Slavs who aspired to greater autonomy.

68 Ibid., 55.

tongue. With his proposal, Fischhof seemed to be able to delineate an interesting and clever compromise. On the one hand, German bureaucrats would be required to learn Czech, but on the other hand, bilingual administration would exist only in specific and few districts. In this way, a part of Czech claims would be satisfied without destroying or challenging the primacy of German language and culture.⁶⁹

A third aspect concerned "the relations of the parties with the central authorities in the provinces and with the higher courts". Fischhof recalled a draft prepared (but never implemented) for Bohemia by the delegate Russ who had proposed introducing both in the Lieutenancy and the Court of Appeals in Prague "two Senates or sections": the proceedings in German would fall within the jurisdiction of the German section, and the others the jurisdiction of the Czech section.⁷⁰

Another equally important issue arose when the local authorities of the Empire had to communicate with those who spoke a different language. According to Fischhof, the best solution was the one adopted by Hungary that, in such circumstances, a single language was decided upon for communication, either that of the authority or the recipient.⁷¹

The political design behind these proposals was articulated. In my opinion, it followed two specific lines of reflection: Firstly, the final aim of this plan was a peaceful solution to the national question and Fischhof seemed to say that to accomplish this, it was first of all necessary to pursue a well-thought strategy of compromise between Austro-Germans and non-German nationalities. Secondly, this strategy was based, in my opinion, on two core elements. First of all, it is undeniable that the underlying inalienable principle was the respect for all languages spoken in Austria, their right to be preserved, cultivated and passed down through the generations. In his writing of 1885, as well as in all his works, over and over again Fischhof insisted a lot on this aspect. Yet, he emphasized the "secular history and the cultural significance" of German. Fischhof's attitude appeared two-fold: on the hand he emphatically advocated the respect for all languages, on the other hand he spoke about German both as the "lingua franca" of the Austrian supra-ethnic State and in other cases as the "State language"⁷²

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., 57.

71 Ibid.

72 Already in the biennial 1848-1849, Fischhof clearly spoke of the Austro-German "civilizing mission", although with respect toward the other nationalities. See: Richard Charnatz, *Fischhof. Das Lebensbild eines österreichischen Politikers.*

In this sense, when defining German as "the language of the State functions" Fischhof seemed not to differ so much from the Hungarian solution of 1868 defining Magyar as the "State language". For Fischhof, the duty and mission of the Austro-Germans was "to ensure that the State also guarantee [to the other nationalities] the means to develop and build on the general cultural interest". In this way, Austro-Germans would not be perceived as an oppressive nationality anymore and Austria would be stronger and more united as a result.⁷³ In this sense, Fischhof seemed to recall an essay he wrote in 1866, *Ein Blick auf Österreichs Lage (A Look at Austria)*, where he advocated a true "collaboration", "trust" and "friendship" among all Habsburg nationalities, led by Austro-Germans, in order to make the Empire a solid bulwark against "Russian barbarianism".⁷⁴

In general terms, Fischhof affirmed the importance of the Austro-German factor while simultaneously calling for the preservation of national plurality, diverse nationalities with their own idioms, traditions, and stories.⁷⁵

In other words, he delineated a plan for pacifying and establishing a solid sentiment of "trust" and "friendship" among Austrian nationalities, by recognizing a major freedom and autonomy – i.e. "dignity" – to the non-German nationalities within the context of a great, stable Austrian State where Austro-Germans would have a kind of "civilizing mission", because of the high degree of social, political, historical development – as Fischhof stressed – they had been able to achieve over centuries.⁷⁶

73 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 58 ff. Fischhof also addressed this issue in the 1869 monograph, where he noted that not even the complete federalization of the Empire could affect the supremacy of the German culture. See also for example, Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*, 219–220.

74 See: Adolf Fischhof, *Ein Blick auf Österreichs Lage. Sendschreiben an die Redaction des "Telegraph"* (Wien: Wallishausser'sche Buchhandlung, 1866), in particular 24 ff.

75 Fischhof reminded Austro-Germans that Austria was a State made up of minorities: this concretely meant – as he stressed – that Austro-Germans as well as Czechs, for example, could become "national minority" in the territory where the other was the large majority and that, just for this reason, it was necessary for *all* nationalities of Austria to avoid intolerant, one-sided, aggressive and hostile attitudes. This is substantially one of the core messages, within the broader context of his reflection on "reconciliation" among nationalities of Austria, delivered by Fischhof in all his works on the language question and notably in his work published in 1888: *Der österreichische Sprachenzwist*. This last aspect is particularly stressed by Ian Reifowitz, "Threads Intertwined", 444.

76 Fischhof would return, substantially in the same terms, to the subject of the Austro-German cultural and political role and the role of Austro-Germans in the Empire in another celebrated essay dedicated to the language question, *Der österreichische Sprachenzwist (The Language Conflict in Austria)* (Wien: Manz'sche Verlag, Universität

4 "Trust" and "Collaboration" among the Nationalities of Austria:
Some Conclusive Remarks on Fischhof's View

The elements that emerge from Fischhof's works published between the late 1860s and 1880s, and his own political sensibilities, were strongly connected to a real political analysis of the Habsburg monarchy and more precisely of the Cisleithania. In this essay, I sought to show how behind Fischhof's articulated proposals there was a core problem i.e. how to pacify the many nationalities of Austria and, more precisely, how to create a new sense of "trust", "accord", "friendship" and "collaboration" among them.

As stressed in the first section of my work, by analyzing Fischhof's works one can observe that all these terms had an emotional meaning and implication for him. "Trust" and "collaboration" were seen by him in the first instance as sentiments: this is also true for the core concept of "Fremdherrschaft" which – as previously written – referred first of all to a mental and spiritual condition. The peculiar meaning "trust" and "collaboration" acquired in Fischhof's writings was, in our opinion, connected with his likewise peculiar idea of nationalities. As stressed in the first section of the essay, Fischhof looked at the nationalities of Austria as "individuals", i.e. bearers of feelings. During the 1860s and the 1880s, impressed and influenced by the Austrian historical and political development, Fischhof wondered how and to what extent the nationalities of Austria could actually become bearers of positive sentiments and feelings, such as reciprocal "trust", "friendship" and "collaboration", how they could become free from reciprocal suspicion and mistrust and how they free themselves from the sense of "Fremdherrschaft".

More precisely, he believed that the best way to make Austria a true "Gesamtstaat" was to spiritually regenerate the relationships among its many nationalities; in order to achieve this ambitious objective it was necessary for him to delineate and enforce an articulated reform plan addressing the national and linguistic question. In other words, in Fischhof's works analysed so far, the challenge was to establish a sentiment of mutual sentiment of "trust" among the nationalities of Austria but the steps to take in this direction had to be political.

We have seen that Fischhof's plan for a well-thought "reconciliation" among the nationalities of Austria on the basis of "trust", "friendship" and implied not only the idea of establishing a great and stable Austrian "Gesamtstaat" but more profoundly a personal and critical reflection on a problem which,

Buchhandlung, 1888), in which we find a great deal of the reflections and proposals that were addressed in the 1885 essay.

in our opinion, he confronted in all his works, particularly in that of 1869: the quandary as to whether the nation-states (according to Fischhof's meaning of the term) truly represented the only possible form of political organization in Europe, and whether the existence of a sovereign, stable State and national homogeneity (or presumed as such) were to be considered inseparable.

For Fischhof, Austria was the proof that the alternative could exist and it was from this conviction, or, rather, this *political option in favour of a multinational and multilingual Austria*, that he endeavored to identify those conditions that would reconcile – and not only on a purely theoretical level – *unity* (political) and *plurality* (national), and, therefore, would strengthen the Austrian State, capable of balancing power and offering a substantial degree of freedom for its individual nationalities. For Fischhof, the solution to the national question could not be found in the extreme centralization and repression of the nationalities of Austria as much as through an extensive reform that could make these peoples feel that they were *citizens and not mere subjects*. Hence the necessity to ensure fundamental rights not only to individuals but also to individual nationalities.⁷⁷

An effective compromise between power and freedom – to be reached through de-centralization, federalism, civil liberties, respect of all languages – was essential to fight against the sense of "Fremdherrschaft", and therefore to establish a sentiment of "trust", "friendship", "solidarity" and "cooperation". In this way, the Austrian State could become a true inclusive reality and therefore a solid "Gesamtstaat" embodying a true and credible alternative to the Western-European model of Nation-State.

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77 Adolf Fischhof, *Österreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes*.

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