Notes

Introduction

1. In the ambit of that cultural history, I include intellectual history and the history of ideas as well as conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*). As Koselleck 1986 argued, such a *Begriffsgeschichte*, tracing the historical usage and evolving semantics of societal and political concepts, constitutes an important interface between cultural and social history. Another such interface is the study of public opinion, which, more than being just an ambient condition like the weather, or one's hormones, can exercise a nudging influence on state policies. As I show in Chapter 11, public opinion constitutes a point where culturally conceived and culturally platformed ideas and attitudes can exercise leverage on political developments.
2. In this approach I follow Anderson 2006, e.g. his identification of 'print capitalism' and far-flung readerships as a precondition for establishing 'imagined communities' at a translocal, nationwide level. An excellent analysis of the national role of the writer is Thiesse 2019. For case studies on intellectuals and nation-building in various countries (neigbouring Russia), see Suny & Kennedy 2001. I emphatically include 'popular culture', as per Edensor 2020.
3. The historical agency of objects has been advanced in the actor–network theory of Bruno Latour (2005). In addition, I take from Latour the crucial insight that agency should not be misinterpreted as intentionality. On the idea that texts in their capacity to inspire other texts are 'procreative', see Rigney 2012, esp. chapter 2, 'Procreativity: Remediation and *Rob Roy*'.
4. Hroch 2009, chapter 6 ('The Players: Speaking in the Name of the Nation'; summarizing his earlier research, Hroch 1995), gives a fine-meshed grid depicting the social origin of nationally active university-educated German, Czech, Slovak, Norwegian, Finnish and Lithuanian intellectuals, ranging across nine social strata from peasants to large landowners and high officials. That social spread is differently distributed in the different areas examined. This may, as Hroch argues, have coloured the extent to which these intellectuals stressed social or economic issues in their social demands. How decisive these differerentiations are for determining the course of national movements as such is, however, open to some doubt, for various reasons. (1)

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The distribution is given in percentages, which means that the patterns for smaller national populations (Lithuanians) are given a massively overstated equivalence to those for larger ones (Germans). (2) These data all concern activists in, specifically, Hroch's Phase B, which means precisely those who were, by his definition, involved in raising social demands. While this may throw interesting light on the distribution of conservatism or radicalism in national movements, or on the importance of cohorts such as country doctors or country clergymen, or (as Hroch suggests) on the wider mobilizing appeal of protagonists in different countries, it remains unclear what the applicability is for Phase A. The one insight that does stand from Hroch's model is how great is the social spread of protagonists' backgrounds, as we see represented in the nationally minded intelligentsia Europe-wide; this suggests that the elite/masses distinction did not play a determining role.

5. Bourdieu 1993 (on restricted vs. unrestricted cultural production). Studying both restricted and unrestricted cultural production allows me to take account of the 'popular culture and everyday life' addressed by Edensor 2020.
6. Bourdieu 1979 (on distinction and prestige), Rigney 2012 (on remediation), Erll & Rigney 2009 (on canonicity and remediation).
7. On complex systems, see, besides Latour 2005, also Luhman 1984. Complexity (the systemic prominence of iterative and nesting input–output feedback loops) generates 'autopoiesis', the ability for systems to self-stabilize and become more than mere 'output' derived from underlying factors. On positing cultural history as, precisely, the history of complexity: Sirinelli 1997.
8. On habitus: Bourdieu 1980; more on this in Chapter 12.
9. *Fremderfahrung*: Dyserinck 2015, 43–47, Connor 1967, also Connor 1973 and 1994. On the importance of Connor's work in nationalism studies: the editorial introduction of Conversi 2002, 1–23.
10. The model was first proposed in Leerssen 2006a and formed the basis of the material collected in ERNiE 2022.
11. As one characteristic example of the reluctance among social historians to see culture in any other terms than as a mere emanation or indicator of socio-political patterns, see Haupt & Tacke 1996. Their discussion of 'Die Kultur des Nationalen' (the culture of the nation) opens with a stricture that 'Although cultural-historical questions have opened innovative fields for modern nationalism studies and may yield a greater political relevance, they do not render the social-historical analysis of the national phenomenon superfluous. *On the contrary*' (255, my emphasis). The rest of the article reduces 'the culture of the nation' to a social and political analysis of groups and actors evincing a cultural interest. The work of Pierre Nora and Mona Ozouf is presented as an extension into 'cultural anthropology'; the study of historical monuments (by the likes of Maurice Agulhon and Thomas Nipperdey) presents a possible slide towards mere iconography – unless analysed as to their social 'Trägergruppen' (carrier groups). Not a single publication from the disciplines of literary history, music history or art history is taken into account.

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12. Here I follow John Hutchinson's thoughtful discussion of cultural nationalism (which, to be sure, is not quite the same thing as the culture of nationalism or the cultural history of nationalism: Hutchinson 2013).
13. I take my cue from Wimmer & Schiller 2002, since then also inspiringly applied to nationalism studies by Storm 2024.
14. For the phase model: Hroch 1968. Hroch has since then elaborated and refined his theory in numerous other publications, notably Hroch 2015, with various articles collected in Hroch 2015. On the whole, the present book accords quite closely with *European Nations* (Hroch 2015), which enriches our understanding of the period with valuable and thoroughly researched socio-historical insights and examples and deeply informed discussions of the *status quaestionis* and the secondary literature. Because my approach is so deeply beholden to Hroch, I should specify the three points where this book takes up a different position from his.

    The most superficial one is Hroch's disapprobation of the term 'nationalism', which for him specifally denotes national chauvinism ('an excessive worshipping of one's own nation, connected with overvaluing it and placing it above other nations', Hroch 2015), and which he therefore does not wish to see heedlessly applied to the protagonists of national movements. While chauvinism certainly is a frequent component of nationalism, in the English-speaking world the -ism in 'nationalism' (analogous to that in 'liberalism', 'socialism' or 'feminism') merely denotes the ideology or set of ideals driving a social or political movement.

    Secondly, Hroch (like Smith 1978) has shown himself very critical of diffusionist models, which I here unashamedly espouse. Cultural/communicative diffusion is particularly important for the understanding of Phase A, while most of Hroch's attention is focused on Phases B and C. And *pace* Hroch, diffusion models need not presuppose a 'ground zero' from where the diffusion process originates. My 'ground zero', such as it is, I locate in the political friction zones of destabilized European states and empires around 1800, and in the anti-Napoleonic intelligentsia's response to accelerated (largely Napoleonic) modernization. I am mindful of the many political, institutional and intellectual factors that converged during this period to precipitate the rise of Romantic historicism and Romantic nationalism.

    Thirdly, Hroch as a social historian situates historical developments in the context of state-governed societies, which means that it is important for him to distinguish typologically between established and aspirational states, nations and 'non-dominant ethnic groups', and regions with or without an indigenous elite. To me, as a cultural and intellectual historian, such distinctions are of less importance, since all these polities and societies, irrespective of their undeniable socio-political differences, were affected by the culture of nationalism. More on this in the conclusion to this book.
15. Hroch 1968, 2005, Thiesse 1999; for 'cultural transfer': Espagne & Werner 1990, 1994, 1996, Breuilly 2013, 2020, Dyserinck 1988. A pioneering transnational compilation of relevant data was Pearson 1994.

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16. The reconfiguration of the historian's working field and the availability of archivally ordered data during the *Sattelzeit* is well illustrated in Peter Burke's long-term history of knowledge production, Burke 2012. During the presentation of that book at the University of Göttingen in 2012, Burke described how as a result of post-1800 changes the emerging discipline of history morphed into 'the archive-based study of changes imposed from above'.
17. This was cogently argued, against Anthony Smith, by Connor 2004.
18. The 'invention of tradition' concept (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) emerged around the same time as the *lieux de mémoire* approach (see Nora 1997), soon followed by the formalization of memory studies (see Jan Assmann 1992, Aleida Assmann 1999). On Romantic historicism and medievalism as intellectual enablers of national identity cultivation: Bák, Geary & Klaniczay 2014, Geary 2002, Thiesse 1999.
19. On cultural memory studies: Rigney 2001, 2012.
20. Deutsch 1969: 3.
21. Ethno-symbolism: Smith 2006, 2009. Irish cultural nationalism: Hutchinson 1987. Groupism: Brubaker 2004a. Dyserinck's original: 'im Raum der Geschichte vorübergehend verwirklichte Denkmodelle', Dyserinck 2015, 25.
22. Hutchinson 2013.
23. Brubaker 1996, 16.
24. This is not meant to supplant other definitions, only to give them a practical application in the context of this book's scope.
25. Leerssen 2013, ERNiE 2022.
26. Further elaborated in Leerssen 2018 and ERNiE 2022. It is my contention that the 'circulation of ideas' within this polygon was markedly more dense and intense than in contacts with the world outside.
27. Schivelbusch 2004.
28. Connor 1967.
29. These shifting states recall the axis of intensity as identified by Jonathan Hearn (2006), who sees nation-awareness as ranging from a mere 'feeling' by way of 'identity' and 'ideology' to 'social movement'. Breuer 2005 distinguishes between *Weltanschauung* (world-view), *Gesinnung* (mindset, attitude) and *Ideologie*. To distinguish sharply between these semantic clouds is problematic, but in all cases a sliding scale of ideological intensification is implied, which tallies with the stages of political/activist intensification registered by Hroch in his phase model. To clarify the terms: for 'feeling', see the useful examples in François 1995. I myself have distinguished between 'national thought' (much in the sense as Breuer uses 'Nationalbewußtsein') and its more intensified, ideologically programmatic manifestation 'nationalism' (Leerssen 2018). The notion of 'identity', let alone 'national identity', is notoriously vexed; in this book, I use it in the imagological sense ('a consciously experienced national self-image': Beller & Leerssen 2007, see under 'Identity/alterity'). I use 'ideology' in the sense defined by Gérard Genette as 'a body of tenets and prejudices constituting both a world-view and a value system' (Genette 1969, 73).

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1 The Romantic Spell

1. On the monument: Alings 1996. Quotation: Hitler 1939 (1925–1927): 213–214, with thanks to Paul Stevens for alerting me to it. On war enthusiasm: generally Konrad 2016 and Kieft 2015, Silbey 2005 (Britain), Verhey 2000, Bruendel 2003, 70, Hoeres 2004 (Germany).
2. On that tradition from Arndt into the twentieth century: Leerssen 2017a. Arndt's seminal text is online in English translation at ERNiE (e-rn.ie/arndtrhine), as are the poems by Schneckenburger and Hoffmann von Fallersleben.
3. Langemarck: Unruh 1986, Dithmar 1992, Krumeich 2001.
4. *Casablanca*: Harmetz 2002.
5. The Michelet quotations are online at e-rn.ie/micheletmarseillaise. On Michelet and his idealization of history as the self-realization of France: Rigney 1990. On 'La Marseillaise': Vovelle 1997, Richard n.d.
6. On the making of Olivier's *Henry V*: Aldgate & Richards 2007.
7. Nevsky dedications: e-rn.ie/nevsky. Eisenstein and the film: Goodwin 1993. Alexander Nevsky as a memory figure in Russian history: Schenk 2004.
8. Rousseau 1762 Livre IV cap. 8: 'De la religion civile'. Burke 1790 paragraphs 154, 158, 165.
9. Sparta as Rousseauesque ideal: Shklar 1966; for Robespierre; Cartledge 2002; generally Rawson 1969. Cult of personalilty: Dikötter 2020.
10. Hegel 1857, Introduction (Sibree's translation). The 1837 German edition (by Gans) did not include Hegel's Introduction; Sibree follows the 1840 edition (by Karl Hegel). Hegel's life and thought are masterfully outlined by Pinkard 2000.
11. On Carlyle's views on history: Rigney 1990, 2001.
12. Carlyle 1841, chapter 3.
13. See Leerssen 2006b and 2019a.
14. On 'cultural saints': Dović & Helgason 2016. The iconography on banknotes and statues is collected at e-rn.ie/currency.
15. Krumeich 1989, Winock 1997.
16. 'Merkmale der charismatischen Herrschaft', in Weber 1922 section 1 chapter 3 para 10. Weber had floated the idea previously in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitiek* and in his *Politik als Beruf*. For a conceptual history, see Derman 2011. The passages quoted here follow the English translation by A. M. Henderson & Talcott Parsons (Weber 1924).
17. E.g. Lepsius 1986; Breuer 2011, esp. chapter 2 ('Charismatische Herrschaft'), 25–79. Some historians have argued that Bismarck may have been a prototype; but the great cult of personality surrounding Bismarck flourished only after his resignation as chancellor in 1890, and rested not on his authority as a statesman (he had become increasingly unpopular in that capacity) but on his reputation as the architect of the new Reich. For a map of more than 250 Bismarck monuments and Bismarck towers erected between 1869 and 1934 from Königsberg to Metz and from Kiel to Konstanz, see e-rn.ie/bismarck. Only ten of these predate 1891.

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18. Breuilly 2011 applies the notion of charismatic leadership to anticolonial leaders and to European Fascists (notably Hitler); he sees the latter as stepping into a void created by Weberian disenchantment, but is predominantly concerned with a juxtaposition of their charisma with 'routinized' and often impersonal power in the state's social fabric (as per Weber's notion that charisma is fundamentally *außeralltäglich*, non-commonplace, extra-ordinary). Breuilly sees a contradiction between Weber's archaic (pre-modern, non-rational) charisma principle and the fact that it is re-enabled by the precondition of modernization; the intellectual lineage of the concept from Hegel by way of Carlyle and the vestiges of palingenetic Romantic thought in modern totalitarian leaders suggest a mode in which the two could be ideologically reconciled. In this book, I shift the locus of charisma away from modern political leaders towards the idealized nation itself, with charismatic leaders deriving their authority from being the nation's champions.
19. On Hindenburg: Hoegen 2007, Goltz 2009. Of the two German wartime leaders, Ludendorff is usually seen as the main continuity towards National Socialism, with which he actively sympathized; but Ludendorff never achieved Hindenburg's charismatic status. On the cult of Hinderburg as charismatic in nature: Pyta 2007, 285–295. Once Hindenburg's rule was 'routinized', disenchantment set in and his stature suffered.
20. On them: Mango 1999, Deák 1996, Sakmyster 1983, Papacomsa 2007 (and generally Fischer 2007), Garlicki 1995, Vergez-Chaignon 2014, Screen 1970–2000.
21. On them: Soubigou 2002, Huntford 1997, Zamoyski 1982.
22. Readers may be reminded of the title of Stefan Breuer's book *Der charismatische Staat* (2014). That book deals with ancient states rather than modern nations and with archaic periods of early state foundation; his argument is that before institutional and dynastic authority were established, the nascent state had to rely on charismatic authority. Breuer is the foremost expert on Max Weber and his authority model, and I gratefully rely on him throughout this book; but I am not altogether convinced that his approach here is fundamentally different from Durkheim's notion that in the religions of early polities, what was really revered was society's own enduring permanence (Breuer 2014 chapter 1 note 2; Durkheim 1912).
23. Leerssen 1996, 2016a, 2020. The swerve from politics to culture in Irish nationalism after Parnell's death may be less categorical than contemporaries, such as the nationalist poet Yeats, asserted (see Foster 1997–2003); but the impact of Hyde's lecture was nonetheless momentous.
24. Hyde 1892. Yes, the word 'race' is used – as a mere throwaway, a metaphorical synonym for 'nation', but twice over. As such it does reflect the ambient ethnicizing, racialist discourse of the 1890s; see also McMahon 2009.
25. Mann 2012, Pross 1967. On Mann's own later assessment of German nationalism, see his open letter to *Common Sense*, 1940, responding to Viereck's *Metapolitics*, and quoted in Viereck 2004, li–lxi ('Thomas Mann on Metapolitics').
26. See also Anderson 2006 and Reed 2018.

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2 Becoming Something, Unmaking Empires

1. This chapter, in some passages, summarizes the more extensive treatment of these developments that appears in Leerssen 2018, 2023a and 2023b. Analytically, Breuilly 1992 stands out as a classic in the field; his focus is more on power relations and on nationalism as a political movement, arguing that 'political analysis provides the key to a general understanding of nationalism' (xii). Breuilly 2009 summarizes the dialectics between Germany and Napoleonic France. To complement Breuilly's state-political focus, the reader can fruitfully turn to Peter Watson's admirable surveys of German and French socio-cultural and intellectual history, Watson 2010 and 2022. Specifically on Germany in these transition years: Langewiesche 2000, Sheehan 1992, Hewitson 2014. On empires challenged by nationalities after 1800: Berger & Miller 2015, Connelly 2020, Storm 2024.
2. The continuity principle holds that states maintain their identity as legal entities across territorial changes, regime changes and occupation, their rights and obligations devolving to their successor states. Marek 1954 contends that an 'ideal legal notion' of statehood suffices to establish such continuity. Witness the German *Reichsidee* of the period 1806–1871; Louis-Philippe's invocation of a transcendent 'France' subsuming both his royal rule and the imperial one of Napoleon; and the idea that the independence of the Baltic States proclaimed in 1989 was the resumption of a sovereignty suspended, but not abolished, in 1938.
3. Schiller, unpublished note (1797) quoted by Dann 1995, 68.
4. On Metternich and the congress system: Schroeder 1962, Ghervas 2019 and Wilson 2003. On Haxthausen: Schupp 2004; on the demagogue persecutions generally: Tyrichter 2019. Studies of the individuals concerned give information by way of context: e.g. Reetz 2002 (on Schleiermacher) and Richter 1992 (on Hans Ferdinand Maßmann).
5. Frost 1867 gives a journalistic but useful conspectus of secret societies. For the Wartburg Feast: Brandt 1988. Decembrists: Raeff 1966, Rabow-Edling 2007 and Trigos 2009. Accounts of the Philomaths and Philarets are in Weeks 2015 and in biographies of Lelewel and Mickiewicz (Skurnowicz 1981 and Koropeckyj 2008); also, more generally, Eile 2000 and Walicki 1982. The Filikia Eteria: Panagiōtopoulos 2003.
6. Rath 1964, Santuccio 2020. On Garibaldi: Riall 2007. On Mazzini: Mack Smith 1994; on Mazzini's international influence: Bayly & Biagini 2009. For the French Charbonnerie: Spitzer 1971, Lambert 1995. Young Germany: Estermann 1972. Young Turks: Gorgeon 1995, Hanioğlu 2001, Uzer 2016.
7. Lehming 2011, Vinke 1980: 112.
8. Philhellenism generally: Noe 1984, Konstantinou & Wiedenmann 1989, Dimakis 1992, St Clair 2008, Heß Agazzi & Décultot 2009. Franco-German: Maufroy 2011. German: Quack-Eustathiades 1984, Meyer 2013. Italian: Pécout 2004. Dutch/Flemish: Wagner-Heidendal 1972. In painting: Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989, Constans, Lambraki-Plaka & Ribemont 1996. Byron: Raizis 1988.

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9. 1830 Uprising: Church 1983; 1863 Uprising: Leslie 1969.
10. Burgdorf 2006, Dann 1995, Langewiesche 1992 and 2008.
11. Ribhegge 1998, Engehausen 2023, Engehausen & Kohnle 1998, Vick 2002, Fitzpatrick 2008.
12. Palacký's letters of 1848 refusing to take a Frankfurt seat and convoking a Slavic Congress at Prague are online at e-rn.ie/palackyfrankfurt and e-rn.ie/palackyprague. On him: Zacek 1970. On the Slavic Congress: Orton 1978. The documentation on that event has been collected in Žáček 1958.
13. Dowe 2000. Clark 2023, though exemplary in its transnational scope, sees the revolutions as purely socially driven and downplays their nationalist 'springtime of nations' aspect; for which, see Jaworski 1998.
14. Albrecht-Carré 1968, Sédouy 2009. Generally, Schroeder 1972 and Wilson 2003.
15. On Scandinavism and its post-1864 decline: Glenthøj & Nordhagen Ottosen 2021, Gerven 2022. On Barrès and the coinage and emergence of nationalism in France: Bell 2001, Girardet 1958, Weber 1985, and quoting Francesca Zantedeschi's ERNiE article 'Nationalism and Politics: France', e-rn.ie/frn-1.
16. More extensively covered in Leerssen 2021a.

3 Romantic Prophets: Inspired Poets Inspiring People

1. Original genius: Monk 1960, 101–133, Simonsuuri 2010. On Vico and this delayed impact, see Leerssen 2012a. Eighteenth-century reassessments of northern antiquity: Parker 2015.
2. From amidst the great body of Ossian scholarship I highlight Stafford's biography of Macpherson (Stafford 1988), the text edition by Gaskill 1996, 2004, Gaskill & Stafford 1998, Gaskill & Bär 2012.
3. Iconography and engravings: Macdonald 2013. The vignette on the British title page by Wale and Taylor was re-engraved by Antonio Baratti for Cesarotti's Italian edition.
4. Gaskill 1996, 197–198.
5. Monk 1960.
6. Liminality: my contribution to Gaskill & Stafford 1998; Aeolian harp: as per M. H. Abrams's classic essay (1957).
7. Uhland 1807, Novalis 1797 nr. 37. For the related concept, in English, of 'enthusiasm': Mee 2003. On the metaphysics of Romanticism, the classical survey remains Deugd 1966. Generally also Schanze 2018.
8. Hugo, 'La fonction du poëte', in his *Les rayons et les ombres*, online at wikisource, w.wiki/CdRN.
9. Lange 1954, 260. See generally also Verschoor 1928.
10. Quoted in Watson 2022, 298.
11. Carl 2000, Planert 2007; for the patriotic verse of the period, and its public impact: Ernst Weber 1991.
12. Fetscher 1988. Nazi propaganda, especially in the less successful phase of the war, frequently invoked the anti-Napolonic resistance.

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13. Ferguson's lament is online at e-rn.ie/lamentdavis; an interactive survey of 570 national monuments to post-1800 poets is online at e-rn.ie/poetmonuments.
14. See the title of the collection Hemans 1834: *National Lyrics, and Songs for Music*.
15. See Leerssen 2023c.
16. Thorslev 1962, Poole 2010, Raizis 1988, Leerssen 2023d.
17. Scott 1805, Rigney 2012.
18. Embodied communities: Rigney 2001; commemorations: Leerssen & Rigney 2014; Němcová and Borovský: Nekula 2012, Reinfeld 1982, Morava 1985, generally, e-rn.ie/poetmonuments.

4 Manuscripts Found in the Attic

1. The classic discussion of antiquarianism as a forerunner of modern disciplines is Momigliano 1950.
2. Antiquarianisms's confused use of oriental sources: Droixhe 1978, Vance 1981, Leerssen 1996; reliance on the imagination to construct images of the past: Rigney 2001 and 2012.
3. Bodmer 1757, VI–VIII. Generally Parker 2015; for the European impact: Gaskill 2004.
4. See Henrikson 2002, Hulle & Leerssen 2008, Schäfer-Hartmann 2009. On the paradigmatic case of G. G. Gervinus: Ansel 1990.
5. On the role of Cesarotti's Ossian in the European rediscovery of Vico and in preparing, through Herder's reading of Ossian, the Homeric Question: Gillies 1933, Clark 1947, Berlin 1976 as reviewed by Scouten 1978 (with a blustering but not altogether convincing rejoinder by Berlin) and Leerssen 2012a.
6. Aretin 1803, 3–4.
7. Joseph Görres, 'Ankündigung der Bibliotheca Vaticana: Subskriptions-Anzeige (1812)', in Görres 1955, 109–110. The text is online at e-rn.ie/goerres.
8. In Schlegel 1988 4: 7–9.
9. 'New philology' carries a double meaning. On the one hand it stands as a counterpart to classical philology and refers to the linguistic-textual investigation of the vernacular 'modern' languages of Europe and their literatures. On the other hand (and it is used thus by Tom Shippey 2005, whom I follow) it refers to a new cohort of scholars working in a new paradigm in the humanities, dominated by such names as Jacob Grimm (see Bluhm 1997). On the developing notion of the 'philologist': Hummel 2003 and Turner 2014. Schlegel's advocacy of a comparative historical linguistics in *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808) was materially indebted to the work of Sir William Jones on Sanskrit (Aarsleff 1967). August Boeckh's *Enzyklopädie der Philologie* defined philology as 'the understanding of what is understood' – unconsciously echoing Vico (see Rodi 1979, Leerssen 2012a).
10. On the transformation from familial and private networks into academic-professional ones, and the role of correspondence: Leerssen 2019b. ERNiE

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was kindly assisted in incorporating the metadata of the Grimm correspondence by the Arbeitsstelle Grimm-Briefwechsel at Humboldt University, Berlin (grimmbriefwechsel.de).

11. Hroch 1968; see also Hroch 2015 (and the Introduction to this book).
12. Willems 1834, my shortened trl.; full original at e-rn.ie/willems.
13. Gautier 1872, cc–cci, dated 8 December 1870. My trl. On Lenient and Paris: Ridoux 2001, 116.
14. Quoted in Ridoux 2001, 414. Online at e-rn.ie/ancienstextes.
15. Verhandlungen 1847 and 1848. Generally Fürbeth et al. 1999 and Netzer 2006.
16. Biographies: Gerstner 1952, Denecke 1971, Peppard 1971, Martus 2009. Grimm as philologist: Bluhm 1997, Wyss 1979; international influence: Gunnell 2022, Heilfurth, Denecke & Greverus 1963; politics: Storost 1988, See 1999, Norberg 2022.
17. On these cultural transfers: Espagne & Werner 1990, 1994, Espagne & Dmitrieva 1996, Thiesse 1999.
18. The paragraphs that follow summarize Leerssen 2011a and 2011b.
19. He wrote a piece of verse celebrating their conviviality: Pogačnik 1978, 31.
20. Hoffmann 1838.
21. Ibid., xxviii–xxix; note the shift from *Niederdeutsch* to *Plattdeutsch*, the Low-German variant of German as spoken in Northern and Coastal Germany, as opposed to *Oberdeutsch* (the German variants spoken in the inland and Southern German lands).
22. For the early history of this entanglement: Von der Dunk 1966, Leerssen 2011a. The later stages are exhaustively documented in the digital *Encyclopedie van de Vlaamse Beweging*, encyclopedievlaamsebeweging.be.
23. The notion of 'portable monuments' I take from Rigney 2012.
24. Generally on philological *Beowulf* appropriations: Shippey & Haarder 1998. The quoted passage from Simrock 1859 is online in the original at e-rn.ie/simrock.
25. Anglo-Saxonism: MacDougall 1982, Frantzen & Niles 1997, Scragg & Weinberg 2000. Manifest destiny: Horsman 1981.
26. The following account of competing appropriations of the Reynard fable summarizes my Dutch-language study Leerssen 2011a.
27. Lutz-Hensel 1975, Timpanaro 1963, Bein 2011, Lange & Schubert 2023.
28. Grimm, 'Über das Finnische Epos' (1845), in Grimm 1864–1890, 5:112.
29. On Willems: Stynen 2012.
30. England: Macoff 1995, Parker 2014; English–German comparison: Oergel 1998. Specifically on Germany: Ehrismann 1975, Gentry et al. 2002; also Saalfeld 1977.
31. Grimm 1864–1890: 5, 75.

5 Ancestral Voices

1. On Vuk Karadžić: Wilson 1970; on his contacts with Grimm: Bojić 1977, Mojašević 1990. On Kopitar: Bonazza 1984, 1995, Hafner 1957, Lukan 1995,

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2000, Merchiers 2007, Pogačnik 1978. The correspondence between Kopitar and Grimm has been edited by Vasmer (1938). Kopitar's given name is variously rendered in its Slovenian or German forms as Jernej or Batholomäus.

2. On the Bökendorf and Wollzeiler Circles and their use of circular letters and questionnaires: Leerssen 2019b. Documentation on the relations between Haxthausen and Laßberg and a persisting aristocratic orientation: Schupp 2004. The circular letters of Brentano (1806) and Grimm (1814) are online at e-rn.ie/wunderhornletter and e-rn.ie/wollzeilerletter. The Wollzeiler questionnaire pointedly inquired about animal fable material – Reynard was already on Grimm's mind, apparently.
3. On Fauriel: Ibrovac 1966, Espagne & Schöning 2014. On Hardiman: Leerssen 1996. Hardiman invoking Fauriel in his preface to his *Irish Minstrelsy* is online at e-rn.ie/hardimanfauriel.
4. On the *hajduk* figure: Neubauer et al. 2010 – more culturally comparatist than Hobsbawm's class-fixated *Bandits* (1981). The quotation is from Dominian 1917, 321; see also Kedourie 1960, 122–123. On Dominian: Joerg 1936.
5. Wolff 2001. In what follows, I also discuss materials covered in Leerssen 2012b.
6. The 'Homeric Question' came to a head in Friedrich Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* of 1795 and has sprawlingly dominated Homeric studies ever since. A good survey is Nesselrath 2011. See also Chapter 4 of this book.
7. Sgoff 1994 and Neubauer 2006.
8. On Mérimée's *La guzla*: Yovanovitch 1911. On Hoffmann von Fallersleben: Leerssen 2011a.
9. Wlhelm Grimm, in his 1831 Göttingen lectures on the *Nibelungenlied*, distinguishes between two types of medieval epic poetry: of Romance origin and of German. The former works were created by named, celebrated (*nahmhaft*) poets working in a courtly environment. The latter are authorially unspecific. 'These appear to belong to the entire nation and merely to have been articulated by an individual.' And while the courtly poems are often confused, the native ones (*Nationalgedichte*) have a solid, well-defined content and stand on a straightforward footing. Wilhelm Grimm 1985, 13.
10. On Rybnikov and *bylyny*: Sokolov & Sokolov 1932; see Gruel-Apert 1998 (also on Afanas'ev). On Northern European reverberations: Gunnell 2022.
11. Generally Sihvo 2009, Fewster 2006; on Lönnrot and the *Kalevala*: Anttonen 2014. On the nationalizing function of folklore studies in Finland: Hautala 1969, Harvilahti 2018. *Kalevala* as a mythological text: Pentikäinen 1999.
12. Grimm 1864, 113.
13. See the communication by H. J. Holmberg, graduate student (candidatus) in Helsingfors/Helsinki, in the *Verhandlungen der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat* (Tartu), 1 (1846): 25–37; Laugaste 1990, Thiesse 1999, Hasselblatt 2016.
14. On Jane Schoolcraft: Noori 2008, reviewing Schoolcraft's writings as edited by Robert Dale Parker (2007). On historical and poetic Hiawatha figures: Thompson 1922. On the relationship between Hiawatha and the *Kalevala*: Nyland 1950.

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15. Dvořák: Hamm 1983, Tibbets 1993; Sibelius: Goss 2009; Gallen-Kallela: Jackson & Wagemann 2006.
16. Grimm and mythology: Kellner 1994, also Shippey 2005b. Grimm and legal antiquities: Schmidt-Wiegand 1987.
17. In what follows I draw on Leerssen 2016b and 2021c.
18. The Saussurean *langue/parole* model was applied to folktales by Bogatyrev & Jakobson (1929). Motif research in folklore studies led in 1910 to Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* which, translated by Stith Thompson in 1928 as *Types of the Folktale*, has become the great Aarne/Thompson Motif Index. For Grimm's extrapolation from folktale motifs into mythology, see Kellner 1994.
19. On mythology and the reception of myths in modern Europe: Detienne 1981 and Feldman & Richardson 1972.
20. On the Nordic starting-point for the new mythology: Roesdahl & Meulengracht Sørensen 1996, Wawn 2005, Ross 2018, Bønding, Kølle Martinsen & Stahl 2021. On Grundtvig and his impact on Danish nation-building: Hall, Korsgaard & Pedersen 2015.
21. On the shape-shifting invocation of myth, see Williamson 2004 and Lincoln 1999; the latter also addresses the *muthos–logos* duality.
22. Generally Carpenter 1977. On Tolkien as a philologist in the Grimm tradition, the leading authority is Tom Shippey (2005a and 2005b, in the latter work esp. his introductory chapter, pp. 1–28, 'A Revolution Reconsidered: Mythography and Mythology in the Nineteenth Century').
23. See Junginger 1999, Puscher & Vollnhals 2012, Goodrick-Clark 2003 (exploring also the esoteric fringe) and 2019. Many scholars in Ancient Germanic philology were sympathetic to *völkisch* or Nazi politics, e.g. the Amsterdam professor and Nazi collaborator Jan de Vries; on him: Henkes 2005, 121–193. In France, Indo-European studies as an academic discipline were infiltrated by sympathizers of the alt-right GRECE movement during the 1980s, see Demoule 2017; for a wholesale critique of the Indo-European mythological paradigm, Arvidsson 2006. Ahnenerbe: Kater 2006. Widukind: Lambert 2014. Recycling of Ahnenerbe material: e.g. Gilst 2009, a hostile popularizing biography of Charlemagne. On neopaganism: Glünder 2008, Schnurbein 2016 and sources there. On paganism in the alt-right: Puschner & Großmann 2009. Heavy metal music: Goodrick-Clarke 2003, 193–212, Gardell 2003, Lohmann & Wanders 2002. Runic symbols: Birkett 2021; a checklist of these symbols is at imagologica.eu/altrightsymbols.
24. On the influence of Arndt in this idea: Krügel 1914. The international influence of Savigny's *Volksgeist* in legal theory: Ramathian 2007. On *Germanistik* as a branch of historical jurisprudence: Dilcher & Kern 1984. On the Hegelian line of conceptual development: Mährlein 2000. Stocking 1996 registers the later sedimenation of the *Volksgeist* idea in ethnographical anthropology; see also Kalmar 1987. On the rise of organicist historicism, Rothacker 1923 remains a classic.
25. Vienna lectures, 1812 (Schlegel 1961, 14).

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26. Humboldt 1973, 6, my trl. Generally on Romantic language theories: Auroux et al. 2000–2001, Caussat, Adamski & Crépon 1996.
27. Humboldt's 1836 treatise was the introduction to his three-volume investigation of the Javanese Kawi language (Humboldt 1907, and see Solleveld 2020). A full scholarly edition of his linguistic writings is still in progress, see Mueller-Vollmer & Messling 2024. This and other linguistic writings are collected in Humboldt 1973. Humboldt's *ergon/energeia* dualism is elucidated in Mueller-Vollmer & Messling 2024; see also Lyandra-Geller 2016. For the Sapir–Whorff hypothesis, see also Gipper 1972, Miller 1968, Koerner 1992. More generally on *Volksgeist* and post-Herderian language philosophy: Bunzl 1996 and Forster 2010.
28. Van Duyse, 'Aen België' (1834). Buffon's dictum appeared in his *Discours sur le style* of 1753.
29. *Volk* as language community: Grimm in his presidential speech at the 1846 Germanisten congress (Verhandlungen 1847); see Habermas 1999. Grimm on Belgium and the Frenchification of Flanders: *Kleinere Schriften*, 5:112, echoing points already made by Fichte in the *Reden an die deutsche Nation*. Generally also Leerssen 2025.
30. Davis 1845.
31. Viale 1857, my trl.
32. In the original: 'Das höchste Gut des Mannes ist sein Volk. / Das höchste Gut des Volkes ist sein Recht. / Des Volkes Seele lebt in seiner Sprache. / Dem Volk, dem Recht und seiner Sprache treu / Fand uns der Tag, wird jeder Tag uns finden.' On the *Alldeutscher Verband* and on Dahn: Puschner Schmitz & Ulbricht 1996.
33. Ireland: Leerssen 2016a. Hungary: quoting Sándor Hites's contribution to ERNiE on 'Language Interest: Hungarian', e-rn.ie/language-hun.
34. The Slovak national movement stressed its Slavic roots and connections in response to the Magyar centralization policies of the Kingdom of Hungary. See generally Brock 1976.

6 Languages, States, Races

1. Grimm 1864–1890, 4: 84–93. Online at e-rn.ie/grimmdanish. On Grimm and the Schlewig-Holstein question: Storost 1988. On the linguistic nationalism of Grimm and Arndt: Leerssen 2025.
2. The attempts of the Jacobin French Republic to centralize and direct the nationwide use of (exclusively) French are notorious: Balibar & Laporte 1974, Certeau, Julia & Revel 2002, Schlieben-Lange 1996. More generally on language and class/power/prestige relations: Bourdieu 1982.
3. ABC war: Juvan 2015.
4. Sijs 1999 gives a general survey of language purisms; see also Thomas 1992.
5. Quoted in Behland 1967, 341–342. Campe had already written a treatise on German language purification in 1794, 'Über die Reinigung und Bereicherung

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der deutschen Sprache', and had followed through with a *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke* (1801–1813). Quak 1999.

6. Grimm 1848; Grimm notes the Frisians and the Catti (with whom Grimm, hailing from Hessia, personally identified) as non-migratory tribes, already noted by Tacitus in his *Germania* in the locations they still occupy today. On the *Wörterbuch*: Kirkness 1980, Kochs 1967.
7. Grimm 1864–1890, 6: 411–418, online at e-rn.ie/grimmdesiderio, together with the English translation by J. J. Schlicher (1935). In what follows I summarize Leerssen 2015b.
8. Grimm's motion to pursue war against Denmark has been discreetly passed over by his admiring biographers, but it can be found in the minutes of the Nationalversammlung (*Stenographischer Bericht* 1:289–290), online at e-rn.ie/grimmdanish. It is preceded by a somewhat rambling speech invoking the scholarly work he had just published as the *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. The quotation given here is from Grimm 1848, 836–837; discussed in more detail in Leerssen 2025.
9. Arndt's writings are online at ERNiE, e-rn.ie/EMA (tab 'Writings').
10. See Storey 2011.
11. The opposition between 'splitters' and 'lumpers' is widespread colloquially; for the application to linguistic taxonomy I am indebted to Alexander Maxwell.
12. Arndt 1834, 9. Given the contorted language, the original needs to be quoted: 'das ganze Deutschland sollte in einem verjüngten verwandelten Zustande so hergestellt werden, daß sie wenigstens, wenn sie auch nicht sogleich mit voller Liebe hineingingen, doch sich billig nicht sträuben könnten, anzuerkennen, daß sie vernünftiger Weise solcher Einladung folgen müßten. Denn das müßte beiden allenfalls mit der Degenspitze gewiesen werden dürfen, daß die Schweizer hinfort nicht mehr als Söldner fremder Tyrannei zur Befehdung oder gar Unterjochung ihrer deutschen Landsleute sich verkaufen, noch daß die Holländer die deutsche Lebensader, den Rhein, zubinden und sperren dürfen.' For the context: Leerssen 2011a, 96–100.
13. On political Scandinavism: Glenthøj & Nordhagen Ottosen 2021; on cultural Scandinavism: Gerven 2022. Generally on Scandinavism as a form of macronationalism: Hemstad & Stadius 2023. On the 'united kingdoms' model as a template for state-driven pan-nationalism: Alvin Jackson 2023.
14. On the dialect-with-an-army meme: Maxwell 2018.
15. The text is online at e-rn.ie/viennadeclaration. In what follows, I summarize Leerssen 2024.
16. Newly introduced in the Montenegrin Latin alphabet were <ś> and <ź>, and in the Cyrillic alphabet corresponding new characters were composed by placing an acute accent over <с> and <з>. Bosnian linguistic particularism expresses itself stylistically rather than formally: Alexander 2006.
17. See also Flere 2018.

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18. For the coemerging and competing notions of a Bulgarian and a Macedonian ethnolinguistic identity, see Sampimon 2006 and Marinov 2006.
19. Generally Kohn 1960 (Herkel's quotation on p. 332); also (for South-Slavism) Lord 1963, Milojković-Djurić 1994.
20. Arendt 1976, chapter 8: 'The Pan-movements', note 1. The congress had not, *pace* Arendt, been called by the victorious Russians but by the defeated Bulgarians, trying to escape from their Axis opprobrium and isolated position, and currying favour with the Soviet Union; see Petrov 2016. Many primary sources on mid-century Pan-Slavism under Soviet hegemony are given by Kohn 1960.
21. On Dobrovský, Rask and Kopitar: Blom 2013, Fryščák 1982, Hjelmslev 1966, Lukan 1995, Pogačnik 1978, Wirtz 1999.
22. Greek and Irish Gaelic language debates: Mackridge 2009, Crowley 2008.
23. See Pereira González 2017. Leach 2009 indicates how post-1945, Pan-Celtic associations and platforms were established in Ireland by Bretons who had taken refuge there following their Nazi collaboration during the occupation.
24. On Celticism following the Price/Le Gonidec axis: Leerssen 2019a, Löffler 2006, Ellis 1993; on the eisteddfod: e-rn.ie/wls-10; on La Villemarqué and Wales: Constantine 2007; on German interest in the eisteddfod: Gruber 2014. On the British Foreign Bible Society: Howsam 1991.
25. Fraser 1966 and 1968, Gurden-Williams 2008, Price 1854. On Bunsen: Höcker 1951.
26. Lennon 2007 and (more generally) 2008, Grant 2001. On Renan and Arnold: Leerssen 2006b.
27. On Müller: Bosch 2002, Davis & Nicholls 2018, Nicholls 2015; writings are anthologized in Stone 2002.
28. On the growing racialism of comparative ethnographic philology in the nineteenth century: Snyder 1939, Poliakov 1987, Hutton 1988, MacMahon 2016 and 2019, Harpham 2009. On Gobineau and Chamberlain: Fortier 1967, Biddiss 1970 and 1997; on Chamberlain: Field 1981.
29. As quoted by MacDougall 1982, 121.
30. Müller 1994, 2: 408, 410.
31. Müller 1854, 1855.
32. On Hungarian Turanism: Ablonczy 2022. On Vambéry: Alder & Dalby 1979. On Turkish Turanism: Landau 1995, Meyer 2014.
33. Translation thanks to Ayşenur Korkmaz. For another rendering and for additional poetic productions from Turkish Turanism in the period 1900–1914, see Grigoriadis & Opçin-Kıdal 2020. On Ziya Gökalp: Heyd 1950, esp. p. 105 for the poem. On Akçura: Gorgeon 1980. I am also indebted to personal information from Usman Ahmedani and to his Turkish-themed contributions to ERNiE.
34. Laruelle 2007. Tengrism is an informing presence in the Turkish TV action series *Deliler* (2018).
35. Sisa 2016.

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36. Enver Pasha and the Basmachi Rebellion: O'Kearney 2008, Zenkovsky 1967. On the place of the Grey Wolves and their ideology in the Turkish political landscape: Poulton 1997. TV series: e.g. *Diriliş: Ertuğrul* (2014) and its sequel *Kuruluş: Osman* (2019); also the film *Direnis Karatay* (2019). Nomadic Games: w.wiki/CnCj. For the cultural re-emergence of Hungarian Turanism in a Eurasianist frame: Kremmler 2023.

7 History Related

1. On the post-Ossianic and Romantic trope of being 'the last of the race', Stafford 1994.
2. Scott 1805.
3. Rigney 2012. As Rigney has also pointed out, Scott, the master of historical evocation, was in no way a nostalgic: he embraced modernity and innovation wholeheartedly while celebrating the allure of the past.
4. On Romantic historicism: Rigney 2001 and Leerssen 2012a. Entries on historicism will be found in most handbooks of history, philosophy of history and history of ideas; see also Jäger & Rüsen 1992, or, more generally, Tollebeek, Ankersmit & Krul 1996. For repercussions on literary history and literary history writing, see Wellek 1941, Laan 1997 and Spiering 1999.
5. Scott 1814, Chapter XXII, ('Highland Minstrelsy').
6. On romance: Scott 1824. Waverley, addled by wayward reading, as a Romantic Quixote: Scott 1814, Chapter IV ('Education') and the opening to Chapter V ('Castle-Building').
7. For a narratological analysis of history writing, and for Scott's influence on the Romantic historians, see Rigney 1990. Also Berger, Eriksonas & Mycock 2008.
8. On the professionalization of history writing: Boer 1989, highlighting Guizot. More generally: Porciani & Tollebeek 2012. On the historical profession in the century of nation-building: Berger & Conrad 2015, Berger, Donovan & Passmore 1999, Berger & Lorenz 2010. On the historicist reframing of national identity: Baar 2010 (Central Europe), D'Auria 2020 (France).
9. On the Bohemian manuscripts and their impact: Dobiaš 2014, 2019. On the ongoing 'arms race' between forgers and philologists: Grafton 2019.
10. On *lieux de mémoire:* Nora 1997, especially Nora's introduction, 'Entre histoire et mémoire'. On the funeral at Vyšehrad: Nekula 2012. On Havlíček: Morava 1985, Reinfeld 1982.
11. Stafford 1994.
12. Libuše: Höhne 2013; Wanda: Degen & Dzikowska 2015; Amaya: Juaristi 1987 and Yoeli-Rimmer 2018.
13. Rigney 2001.
14. On Conscience: Humbeeck, Absillis & Weiermars 2016; on Sienkiewicz: Lednicki 1960. Generally on the international influence of Scott: Pittock 2007. Historical novels in Estonia/Finland: Kaljundi, Laanes & Pikkanen

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2015; in Belgium: Bemong 2007. On historicism generally: Furtado 2012, Mathijsen 2013.

15. On George IV's Edinburgh visit: Scott 1822, Prebble 2000. Kilt and Highland dress: the saturnine treatment by Hugh Trevor-Roper in *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) overstates the case badly.
16. Conscience 1838, final sentence.
17. Aleš Žužek, 'Janšev Beli panter razkriva skrivnost izvora Slovencev', Siol.net, 19 December 2014, siol.net/novice/slovenija/jansev-beli-panter-razkriva-skrivnost-izvora-slovencev-281833. Lily Baier, 'Panther Pandemonium Polarizes Slovenia Ahead of EU Presidency', Politico, 17 May 2021, politico.eu/article/slovenia-panther-pandemonium-eu-presidency-janez-jansa/.
18. See Frech 1996.
19. This drift to the less prestigious periphery of the literary marketplace is exhaustively documented for the Dutch case in Streng 2020.
20. Leerssen 2021a.
21. Henty and imperialist juvenile fictuion in Britain: Arnold 1980, Castle 1996. Dutch case: Wagenaar 2004.
22. Handelingen der Staten-Generaal 2006–2007, 6 (session of 28 Sept 2006), 272–294. See w.wiki/CnCq.
23. In a lecture to the Berlin Academy of Sciences: Schoof 1961, 357.
24. Michelet 1847–1853, book 2, Chapter 4: on the night of 4 August 1789.
25. 'Nos ancêtres les Gaulois': Viallaneix & Ehrard 1982, Dietler 1994. Historians as nation-builders: Deletant, Hanak & Seton-Watson 1988, Porciani & Tollebeek 2012, Berger & Conrad 2015, Berger & Lorenz 2010. On Michelet: Mitzman 1990, Rigney 1990. On Herculano: Bernstein 2013, Melo 2013. On Palacký: Kořalka 2007, Zacek 1970. Popular vs. academic history in Ireland: Leerssen 1996. Dutch commemorations and religious rifts: Zeijden 2002.
26. On Scott's afterlives outside the fields of the novel and history writing: Rigney 2012.
27. On Arminius: Kösters 2009; on Barbarossa: Kaul 2007. Also: Dann 1983 and Klein 1980 on Cologne Cathedral. Generally on German historical myths: Wülfing, Bruns & Parr 1991, Münkler 2009. French myths are covered in the *lieux de mémoire* collection (Nora 1997). On German historicist architecture and monuments: Storm-Rusche 1990, Werquet 2010. Vittorio Emmanuele monument: Atkinson & Cosgrove 1998. An English example: Vandrei 2018 on Queen Boudicca. Flacke 1998 is a Europe-wide conspectus. On commemorative feasts in Germany and elsewhere: Hansen 1976, Leerssen & Rigney 2014, McCrone & McPherson 2009, Quinault 1998.
28. e-rn.ie/jeanne and e-rn.ie/panoramas.
29. Quoted in Ian Cruse, Library Note for the House of Lords debate on 20 October 2011: 'Teaching History in Schools' (London: House of Lords, 2022), parliament.uk/globalassets/documents/lords-library/Library-Notes/2011/LLN-2011-030-TeachingHistorySchoolsFP2.pdf. Similar sentiments were voiced during the centre-right government coalition talks of 2017 in the Netherlands.

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30. Tollebeek, Boone & Van Nieuwehuyse 2022.
31. Jan-Frederik Abbeloos, 'Het subsidieverhaal van Vlaanderen', *De Standaard* (7 January 2023).
32. Huizinga 1929. On 'proper' and 'improper' history (the latter including 'hyphenated' history such as art history and literary history, heritage studies and memory studies): Rigney 2007. On cultural memory: Jan Assmann 1992, Aleida Assmann 1999. On the history–memory relationship: Cubitt 2007.

8 The Image and the Presence

1. On the sublime: Monk 1960.
2. Harding 1979, Wolf 2012, Schoonenboom 2015.
3. Haskell 1993. The emergence of 'ancient history' as a historiographical field fissioning out of antiquarianism together with archaeology has been memorably discussed by Arnaldo Momigliano (1950).
4. Smiles 1994.
5. Delaroche: Ziff 1977; Gérôme: Ackerman 1986, Christoper Allan Scott 2010; generally: Bann & Paccoud 2014, Sérié 2014, Picon 2012.
6. On the Düsseldorf school and the Belgian influence: Jenderko-Sichelschmidt 1979; on Aman: Florea 2010. This chapter relies on a corpus of 3,500 European history paintings made between 1780 and 1914, online at e-rn.ie/historypaintings.
7. Danish artists' community in Rome: Rohde 1982. Nazarenes: Bachleitner 1976, Benjamin 2002, Gossman 2003 (accessed 14 March 2024), Mitchell 2001.
8. *Düsseldorfer Malerschule* 1979; Hütt 1995. On Cornelius: Büttner 1980.
9. A searchable checklist is online at e-rn.ie/murals. Maclise: Murray 2008; Leys in Antwerp: Baetens 2012, Cleaver 1955; Belgian murals generally: Ogonovszky 1999; Rethel: Koetschau 1929, Oellers 1987; Piloty: Baumstark & Büttner 2003. Murals: Monika Arndt 1976, Arnold 2006, Rommé 1996, Gräf & Tacke 2004.
10. Prendergast 1997.
11. Constans, Lambraki-Plaka & Ribemont 1996, Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989.
12. Schäfer 1985.
13. For what follows: Monika Arndt 1976 and Leerssen 2017b.
14. Gallen-Kallela: Jackson & Wageman 2006; and see (for Estonia) Pütsep 1990.
15. See Grijzenhout 1996.
16. A hundred years after its completion, the painting was made famous by Roy Strong in his pioneering vindication of Victorian art (Strong 1978). See also Morris & Milner 1992 and Sanders 2013.
17. See Bann 2012.
18. Repin: Fan Parker & Parker 1980; Panoramas and waxworks: Hess 2011, Melman 2012, e-rn.ie/panoramas; Mucha's *Slavic Epic*: Bydžovská & Srp 2011. On earlier history painting in the Czech lands: Huig 2005, also Cooper 2010.
19. Salviati mosaics: Barr 2008.

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20. On Varma: Neumayer & Schelberger 2003, Linden 2024.
21. Dusza 2012; Zariņš: Ducmane 2016, Pourchier-Plasseraud 2015. An inventory of national icons on banknotes and postage stamps is online at e-rn.ie/currency.
22. Bourdieu 1993, Billig 1995, Lowenthal 2012.
23. Rigney 1990, 2001.
24. On spectacle versus narrative in Romantic history writing: Rigney 1990. On *Nebeneinander* vs. *Nacheinander*: Lessing 1766.

9 In Tune: Concerts, Choirs

1. In Paris, Liszt tended to play Erard pianos. Gibbs 2006. Generally on Liszt: Walker 1983–1996 and 2005.
2. On Liszt as Romantic virtuoso: L. Kramer 2002, Leppert 2002, Quinn 2014. Specifically on Liszt's combination of virtuoso showmanship and Romantic inspiration: Samson 2007.
3. On Liszt's Hungarian reconnection and the events related here: Legány 1983 and 1992, Hamburger 1987, all following Schober 1843. The Vörösmarty poem is at e-rn.ie/vorosmarty. Liszt responded to Vörösmarty's Hungarian praise with his symphonic poem *Hungaria* (1854).
4. On the sabre symbolism and the *úriember*: Lajosi 2022.
5. 'Hungary is bleeding to death, but Franz the knight has escaped unscathed; so has his sabre, kept safely in the cupboard' ('Ungarn blutet sich zu Tode – Doch unversehrt blieb Ritter Franz, Sein Säbel auch – er liegt in der Kommode'; Heine, 'Im Oktober 1849').
6. Hamilton 2005 and Walker 1983–1996, 2: 58–73.
7. Liszt 1859, 18–49. The anti-Semitism is sometimes blamed on Liszt's mistress Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, but the first 1859 edition, which Liszt published under his own name, is as every bit as anti-Semitic as the posthumous, expanded one of 1881. The German translation (Leipizg 1861, by Peter Cornelius) shortened the anti-Semitic passages, but it is not Liszt's original.
8. Salmen 1966.
9. As quoted in Salmen 1966, 95: 'Ich habe eine allen Nationen gleich ansprechende Musik vor Augen, um den lächerlichen Unterschied der National-Musiken aufzuheben.'
10. What follows summarizes Leerssen 2014 and is much indebted to Samson 2002, Samson 2007, White & Murphy 2001.
11. Vaughan Williams 1934, 17.
12. Beckerman 2003, Hamm 1983, Tibbets 1993.
13. Kregor 2015, 233 (generally chapter 8, 'Programming the Nation').
14. Lajosi 2018, Frolova-Walker 2007, Helmers 2014.
15. On Wagner and the quest for a German national opera: Kooten 2019.
16. Verdi: Gossett 1990 and more generally 2012; Kimbell 1981, Martin 2005, Parker 1997. Erkel and the unified-singing effect of the opera chorus: Lajosi 2018.

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17. The following relies on the case studies in Lajosi & Stynen 2015 and summarizes my introduction to that volume. For a full bibliography, see e-rn.ie/musicassociations.
18. Gumplowitz 1987, Narváez Ferri 2005.
19. Blommen 1960 (zooming in on the Lower Rhine); Elben 1887. The standard work in critical history is Klenke 1998; also Düding 1984 and Minor 2012.
20. Klenke 1998, 66. Original title: *Germania: Ein Freiheitsliederkranz für deutsche Sänger aller Stände* (ed. T. Täglichsbeck; Stuttgart 1848).
21. On festival culture in nineteenth-century Germany: Düding 1984, Düding Friedemann & Münch 1998 and (more sociologically) Hettling & Nolte 1993. Specifically in Schleswig-Holstein: Unverhau 2000. Festival culture in France: Ozouf 1988, Corbin, Gérôme & Tartakowsky 1994.
22. On the massed-choir programme of the Nürnberg Festival, with its fervently anti-French militarism, see Klenke 1998, 110–115. The quotation is on p. 114. In the visual arts, too, the image of a Germania vigilantly guarding the Rhine was constantly reproduced: e.g. Lorenz Clasen's painting *Germania auf der Wacht am Rhein* (1860) and Hermann Wislicenus's of the same name (1873). e-rn.ie/germanias.
23. Klenke 1998, 170.
24. *Stenographischer Bericht* 1848–1850, 1, 27.
25. e-rn.ie/vowtothee.
26. Estonian choral festivals: Tall 1985, Brüggemann & Kasekamp 2014; embodied communities: Rigney 2011.

10 People in the Present

1. On the Zarzuela: Doppelbauer & Sartingen 2010. Polka: Stavělová 2015.
2. Gaelic Athletic Association: Cronin Duncan & Rouise 2009, Mandle 1987. Sokol: Blecking 1991, Blecking & Waic 2008, Nolte 2002, Balikić, Newman & Pojar 2023.
3. Turnvereine and Jahn: Illig 1998 (on Bavaria, but giving wider context); Düding 1984, Bartmuß, Kunze & Ulfkotte 2008. Sokol: see note 2. Jewish sports clubs, Maccabiah Games: Brenner & Reuveni 2006, Friedler 1998, Wildmann 2009. Nordau's call for 'muscular Jewry' is online at e-rn.ie/muskeljudentum.
4. On the Schiller 1859 commemorations: Logge 2014. On the power of literary commemorations generally: Leerssen & Rigney 2014 (chapter 2 on Schiller). Swiss *Festspiele*: e-rn.ie/sws-4.
5. On the eisteddfod: e-rn.ie/wls-10; on Price: Price 1854.
6. What follows summarizes Leerssen 2015a.
7. On the Catalan Renaixença and the Barcelona Jocs Florals: Domingo 2011, Ginebra 1988, Miracle 1960.
8. On the Félibrige: Berjoan 2011, Martel 1997 and 2010. On the Occitan movement: Ripert 1917, Zantedeschi 2013; on Catalan–Occitan crosscurrents: Ginebra 1989, Zantedeschi 2019.

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9. Benjamin 2002. These pages summarize Leerssen 2022b.
10. *Nebeneinander*/*nacheinander*: Lessing 1766. Hittorf: Kiene 2011.
11. Panthéon: Ozouf 1997. The statues are online in the ERNiE collection of landmarks.
12. Milo 1997, Bouvier 2007.
13. Bourdieu 1980 chapter 3 defines habitus as 'a system of stable and generalized attitudes, shaped by experience but capable of shaping experience in that they form a template for generating and organizing social action and representations'.
14. Tolstoy 1869 book 7 chapter 7. The scene is set in 1810–1811.
15. Lovejoy & Boas 1997.
16. On *Mireille*: Ellis 2012. On regionalism in French literature: Thiesse 1991.
17. Höfig 1973, Leerssen 1992.
18. Scott's cavalcades: Rigney 2012. Hardy openings: see *The Return of the Native*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *Two on a Tower*, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*.
19. Champfleury 1857, 270. On Benjamin and spectacle platforms as part of the world fairs paradigm, Leerssen 2022b. On the Salon des refusés: Boime 1969, Dunlop 1972.
20. Thiesse 2022.
21. Dutch costume books: Koolhaas-Grosveld 2010. On 'panoramatic literature' and the Spanish mode of costumbrismo: Krantz 2012, Kuijk 2018, Peñas Ruiz 2012.
22. 'Old German' dress: Eva Maria Schneider 2002. Hungarian, Austrian: Maxwell 2019, Houze 2015. Generally: Maxwell 2014.
23. For the Hofer iconography: e-rn.ie/AHo.
24. Höflein 1988 (concentrating on Baden). Dirndl fashion: Egger 2008, Weissengruber 2004 (post-1945). Bavarian institutionalization under the Wittelsbachs: Wartelsteiner 2015.
25. Ständecke 2007.
26. On Norway: Bjørnholt 2005, Oxaal 1998. On Garborg: Obrestad 1992. Adlersparre's 'Friends of Handicraft', still active, maintain a website at handarbetetsvanner.se.
27. Schubert 1992.
28. On Sauerwein: Masalski 2003, Vistdal 2000. On traditional Lithuanian dress: Šidiškienė's article in e-rn.ie/lit-6.
29. What follows draws substantially on the studies collected in Leerssen & Storm 2022, as well as the survey articles by Gimeno Martínez and by Storm in ERNiE: e-rn.ie/survey-12 and e-rn.ie/survey-13. Generally: Greenhalgh 2010; for regional-to-international scalarity: Schwarz 2012. See also Stoklund 1994.
30. Storm 2022. On the Swiss chalet: Cieraad 2018.
31. Feige 2012, Fernandez 2022. 'Hidden Persuaders' as per the classic Packard 1957.
32. Minea 2022.

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33. Ottoman costumes: Osman Hamdi Bey & Launay 1873; interesting light on Osman Hamdi Bey is thrown by Uslu 2015. On the *Kronprinzenwerk*: Fikfak & Johler 2008. On Marubi: Elsie in ERNiE, e-rn.ie/alb-4.
34. Bergougniou, Clignet & David 2001, Bancel et al. 2011.
35. Radiņš et al. 2016, Hlavačka, Orliková & Štembera 2002.
36. On theatre history in the context of various national movements: Mäkinen, Wilmer & Worthen 2001, Senelick 2008, Wilmer 2004 and 2008.
37. On Ibsen: Figueiredo 2019, Fulsås & Rem 2021.
38. The conflict between these two poles has been brought into sharp focus by Philip O'Leary 1994. On the Irish Literary Theatre: Leerssen 1996. On Yeats: Foster 1997–2003.
39. Generally Einarsson 2006 (Iceland), Pikkanen 2010 and 2012; Mäkinen, Wilmer & Worthen 2001 (Finland).
40. Leerssen 2021b.
41. Milligan: Morris 2013; Gonne and the Daughters of Erin: Coxhead 1985, Trotter 2001, esp. 73–100 ('Women's Work and the Irish Nationalist Actress: Inghinidhe na hEireann'). Shaw: Holroyd 1989–1993, esp. vol. 2. Yeats and occultism: Foster 1997–2003. Generally also Foster 2014.
42. What follows draws on the relevant ERNiE articles on design and architecture, by Sidó (Hungarian, e-rn.ie/hun-11), Villaverde (Spanish-Catalan, e-rn.ie/spa-8), Grīnvalde (Latvian, e-rn.ie/lat-9). For Czech developments: Filipová 2019.

11 Culture Mobilized

1. Du Barail 1898, 149. Generally on belligerent public opinion in 1870: Stengers 1956.
2. See the republication Schneckenburger 1870.
3. The accumulating repertoire is online at e-rn.ie/rhine and in the appendix to Beller & Leerssen 2017 ('Literary Appropriations of the Rhine', 262–345). What follows is based in part on my contribution to that volume, Leerssen 2017a.
4. Schivelbusch 2004. From amidst the wealth of literature on nationalism, Barrès and the Action française I mention Weber 1959 and 1985 and Sternhell 1972. On revanchism and the *Ligue des Patriotes*: Rutkoff 1981.
5. Quoted in Reinach 1920, 193.
6. Treitschke 1870. The article appeared in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, in brochure form, and in English translation (London: Macmillan; here quoted).
7. Hanna 1996 addresses the complex entanglements in French intellectual patriotism. Benda 1927 is a classic denunciation of the failure among intellectuals to remain critically aloof from the discourse of nationalism.
8. Ringer 1990. Ringer focuses on the political economists of the 1890s and after, and as such his survey is less than representative of the 'German Academic Community' mentioned in the book's subtitle. Political economists were

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heavily outnumbered by other disciplines in the apologetic writings that we see around the wars of 1870 and 1914.
9. Schivelbusch 2004 summarizes this as the 'Vae victoribus' mode.
10. The two-nations view of French history: Poliakov 1987; see also chapter 7. Fustel as a historian: Hartog 1988, Herrick 1954.
11. Fustel de Coulanges 1870 for the following extracts. See generally also Jurt 2013.
12. Grimm 1814. This contribution to Görres's *Rheinischer Merkur* appeared anonymously; Grimm's authorship was established by Friemel 1995.
13. On this duo of popular–patriotic novelists from the Lorraine region: Grandhomme 2021, Marotin 1999.
14. Well documented in Bisschoff 2018.
15. Quoted in Lacouture 1984–1986, 1: 66. Generally Beller & Leerssen 2017, Leerssen 2018.
16. French annexations and hegemonism in the Rhineland post-1918 provoked millennial commemorations of the region's medieval ties with the empire; see Cepl-Kaufmann 2009.
17. Loetscher & Scheibling 2006.
18. Renan 1878.
19. Bollenbeck 2001. The opposition *Geist/esprit* was made by Wechssler 1927, see Schmidt 2012.
20. Kalmar 1987, McMahon 2009 and 2016.
21. Ghervas 2014, Koskenniemi 2001.
22. Rodolphe Reiss's *Report upon the Atrocities Committed by the Austro-Hungarian Army During the First Invasion of Serbia* appeared only in 1917. On Belgium and war propaganda: Horne & Kramer 2001, Alan Kramer 2007, more generally Paddock 2014.
23. Online at wikisource: w.wiki/Cmsm.
24. Generally: Mommsen 1996. Germany: Flasch 2000, Bruch 2006; France: Hanna 1996, Morton 1990, Prochasson & Rasmussen 1996, also Gephart 1996 (on Durkheim), Krumeich 1996 (on Lavisse). Britain: Andrew 1981, Buitenhuis 1987, Sanders & Taylor 1982. On Lavisse as nationalist historian: Bourdon 2017.
25. Wilhelm II, 'To the German Nation' (6 August 1914), online in the original at https://w.wiki/Cj$V. The final sentence echoed a line by Max Schenkendorf from 1813 that had become a widespread motto: 'Never will the Reich be vanquished if ye are united and faithful'. That line also featured on a 1919 medal protesting the Treaty of Versailles and was used by the NSDAP as an election slogan in 1933.
26. The full text is online in the original at w.wiki/CgSD.
27. Hanna 1996, 80. The *Erklärung* is online at wikisource, w.wiki/CfjZ, and related materials at e-rn.ie/greatwar. See also Ungern-Sternberg & Ungern-Sternberg 1996.
28. Durkheim & Denis 1915.

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29. On Crowe: Dunn 2013 and Rose 2017, also the relevant portions in Clark 2014. I argue the case in more detail in Leerssen 2022a with particular reference to Rose 2017 and Mommsen 1973. Many discussions of the Fischer thesis concentrate on the representativity of his documentation and on the moral–political shortcomings of his life in the Third Reich. What is more relevant here is the fact that Fischer's book, rather than perpetuating the Entente's vilification of Germany at Versailles, broke through a German historiographical complacency rooted in the country's self-vindications of the period 1914–1919. Also, its very title identified an important driving force in the run-up to 1914: Germany's ambition to rise from the rank of a European power (which it had achieved in 1871) to that of a world power, hegemonic within Europe and with colonial possessions globally. On *Weltpolitik*, the ambition to become a world power, in the run-up to 1914: Mommsen 1981, Fröhlich 1994. Since the days of the Fischer controversy, a consensus has been reached that extra-European colonial imperialism is inextricably entangled with, and cannot be seen separately from, the jostling for primacy within Europe; see Anderson 2024.
30. See Clarke 1992, Firchow 1986, Jeismann 1992, Kennedy 1980, Melby 2019, Scully 2012. For the generalized culture of belligerence: Kieft 2015, MacMillan 2014, and note 1 in this chapter.
31. See James 1954, 424, Sladen 1938, Andrew 1981. On Le Queux: Rose 2017, 51–58. Also Kennedy 1980, chapter 19 ('The Impulse and Orchestration of Public Opinion').
32. Goethe on ancient and modern tragedy: in his *Shakespeare und kein Ende*, 1815:

> Ancient tragedy is based on an inexorable 'this must be' [*Sollen*], which is only imposed more sharply and swiftly if it is opposed by one's will [*Wollen*]. Here is the locus of all those oracular dooms, those fateful themes presided over by the figure of Oedipus … But all that *Sollen* is despotic … Willpower [*Wollen*] is or appears as something free, something that favours the individual. Thus, willpower is winsome and will be embraced by those who get to know it. It is the God of modern times. We turn to it as we shrink from its opposite, and this is the reason why our modern art and mentality will always be different from that of antiquity.

    For anomie in Israeli counterterrorism, see Byman 2011, woefully borne out by Israel's genocidal response to the terrorist Hamas attacks of 7 October 2023.
33. See Hoeres 2004.
34. Kennedy 1980, Firchow 1986 (tracing the recoil from the 'cousinship' described in Mander 1974), Stibbe 2001. Generally on literary jingoism in Britain: Eby 1987.
35. Online in German and English at e-rn.ie/lissauer.
36. Online at e-rn.ie/hardylissauer.
37. De Gaulle 1954, Volume I, opening.
38. Tilly 1975 famously quips that 'War made the states, and the states made war'. On Tilly as a theorist of nationalism: Brubaker 2010. In charting the impact of modern warfare on nationalism I take my cue from the classic study in the field, Hutchinson 2017; his comments on Tilly: 13–18.

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39. Generally Winter 1998.
40. The Waterloo monument proposed in 1815 was a novelty in that it honoured rank-and-file troops as well as officers: see Castlereagh's address to the House of Commons, 29 June 1815, Hansard's parliamentary debates 31 (1815): 1049–1057. For the public veneration of fallen soldiers in France and Germany post-1871: Maas 1995. Also Hutchinson 2017, 62–63.
41. Hindenburg 1920. Algeria: Valensi 1999. *Rambo: First Blood Part II*, ending transcribed from the excerpt online at YouTube (in many versions and copies), remarkable also for the patriotic and hero-worshipping comments appended by the YouTube viewers. See Hutchinson 2017, 66–68.
42. Continued hostilities after November 1918: Gerwarth 2016; Culture of defeat: Schivelbusch 2004.

12 The Long Tail

1. On the importance of myth in independent Latvia: Ķencis 2012.
2. Generally, Pourchier-Plasseraud 2015.
3. On historicist mass media in the twentieth century: Landsberg 2015.
4. e-rn.ie/stampslist and, for a chronological network visualization of their meshing canonicities, e-rn.ie/stampscloud.
5. On the 'Pageant of the Celt': Carew 2014. The design of the 'Official Handbook' (e-rn.ie/handbookirishfreestate) was by Art O'Murnaghan, who exemplified the overlap between the Irish revival movement and the decorative arts; see Figgis 1985.
6. Dziewanowski-Stefańczyk 2022.
7. Sapega 2007, Corkill & Pina Almeida 2009.
8. For the run-up to ethnocracy in independent Poland: Böhler 2018, Porter 2002; on Smetona in neighbouring Lithuania: Eidintas 2015.
9. The transition from nationalism to Fascism had been exhaustively studied in the French case by Zeev Sternhell, e.g. Sternhell 1972, 1978; the capacity of Fascist movements to ingest a source tradition of extreme nationalism is discussed for three countries (France, Italy and Germany) by Breuer 2005. Also Frantz, Geddes & Wrights 2018. Roger Griffin 1991 characterizes Fascism as 'palingenetic ultranationalism'. In sum, John Breuilly's contention that Fascism is a heightened form of nationalism is incontrovertible (Breuilly 2011, 2020).
10. Mudde 2007, 2019.
11. South Africa: Duffy 2006, Marx 1998, Moody 1975. Israel: Kaplan 2005, Tress 1984; for cross-currents with Piłsudski's Poland: Heller 2017, for Jabotinsky, see also King 2011, 167–176. India: Bhakle 2024, Sharma 2011, Chaturvedi 2022, Graham 1990.
12. On *Blut und Boden*: Dupke 1994, Bramwell 2003, Schärli 2007. On *Heimat* movies: Höfig 1973, Moltke 2005.
13. Cavaliero 1977, Lowenthal 1991, Short 1992, Colls & Dodd 1986, Giles & Middleton 1995, Matless 1998.

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14. Baldwin, 'What England Means to Me', speech to the Royal Society of St George, 6 May 1924, online at e-rn.ie/baldwin.
15. Speech to the Conservative Group for Europe, 22 April 1993, online at johnmajorarchive.org.uk/1993/04/22/mr-majors-speech-to-conservative-group-for-europe-22-april-1993/.
16. The surveys are all based on the 'Cinema and TV' project in the *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, interactively accessible at e-rn.ie/FilmTV. For the Indian material I am particularly grateful to Bob van der Linden.
17. Generally Riches 2009.
18. For a thoughtful typological comparison between pre- and post-Communist forms of nationalism in Eastern/Central Europe, see Hroch 1996.
19. See also Linden 2024.
20. See screenrant.com/rrr-movie-ending-explained-in-detail/. Also: Abrams 2022, Babu 2022, Dore 2021.
21. Following the cue of Linden 2024.
22. In highlighting these characteristics of melodrama, I follow Brooks 1995.
23. Harris 1983.
24. Jan Assmann 1992, Aleida Assmann 1999. The idea of ideas 'on standby', archivally encapsulated in books and media and potentially present and retrievable for reactivation even during periods of inert dormancy, was implied by Karl Popper's notion of a 'World-3', an intermediate zone between the ontological worlds of material objects and mental notions (Popper 1972).

Summing Up

1. Hearn 2006.
2. Freeden 1998, Stanley 2008; on populism generally: Mudde 2007, Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser 2017. For a strenuous critique of applying the qualification 'thin' to populism: Schroeder 2020.
3. Genette 1969, 73.
4. Connor 2004.
5. The motto is from Anne-Marie Thiesse, whose classic work (1999) broke significant new ground, and inspired as well as informed this book, in tracing the importance of 'cultural transfers'.
6. See the comments in the Introduction of this book. It is generally accepted (and it was never intended otherwise by Hroch himself) that Phases A, B and C are not like carriages in a train, neatly separate periods characterizing discrete paradigms of a national movement. The cultural consciousness-raising that characterizes Phase A does not cease once social demands are being raised or mass movements are being mobilized, but remains an operative agent throughout. Later phases are overlays on earlier ones, not their replacements. That seemed to warrant a more sustained history of Phase A consciousness-raising, and much of this book is just that: tracing Phase A

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even as it interacted with the social and political shifts and revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

7. There may be different incubation periods in different areas before a cultural broadcast 'takes root' (e.g. the genre of the rhapsody or the historical novel, or the fashion for folktale-collecting). Why, Hroch (2009, 44) asks, was the French message of 'national' popular sovereignty influential in Bohemia well before it took root in Catalunya, which was located much closer to France? To begin with, geographical distance does not count for much in the communicative diffusion of ideas. Moreover, the diffusion of culture does not take place wholesale from one 'national' space to another one, but moves piecemeal from hub to hub, between cities. Cities, with their bookshops, post offices, newspapers, sociability and institutions are the main relay points for the exchange of ideas. (There are also more decentred channels of diffusion: the 'peer-to-peer' networks of letter-writing artists and intellectuals, and the travels of individuals.) We may assume, then, that the emission and diffusion of culture and ideas takes places at a more or less even speed in all directions, like the sower sowing his seed, along a plurality of ramifying conduits in different directions. The asynchronicity of when the seeds take root would result either from contingent happenstance (some conduits may be more propitious than others in the conveyance of ideas) or from the fact that institutional or 'social preconditions' (I here gratefully avail myself of Hroch's phraseology) are, indeed, less propitious for their successful adoption in one society than in another. This is less a historical 'given' than a historical problematics, and should be addressed in future research.
8. w.wiki/Ch4Q and w.wiki/Ch4T. The feedback of political activism into cultural consciousness-raising is the subject of Ann Rigney's project ReAct, 'Remembering Activism'; rememberingactivism.eu and see Rigney 2025.
9. On Valencia vis-à-vis the Spanish state and the Catalan movement: Archilés 2001, Martínez Roda 2000, Villanueva 2017.
10. For the span from 'feeling' to ideology: Hearn 2006. What I am addressing here concerns the pragmatics of how people experience cultural phenomena as they encounter them; I am not addressing the putative emotional motivations of national thought as conjecturally discussed by social psychologists.
11. As analysed by Arcan Gossler 2001, 74, discussing Stefan Breuer 1993, 187.
12. Breuilly 2011 and note 11 in the Introduction of this book. I am mindful of the arguments of Hannah Arendt (1976) and Giorgio Agamben (2005) that it is in 'states of emergency' or 'states of exception' that democracy tends to founder, along with the rule of law and civil rights.
13. Chesterton 1902.
14. Durkheim 1992, Mestrovic 1989.
15. Durkheim himself linked anomie to market deregulation in his *Leçons de sociologie* (Durkheim 1992); see also Burgi 2014.
16. On populism: Anselmi 2018, Brubaker 2020, Mudde 2007, 2009, Rovíra Kaltwasser et al. 2017. For the systemic connection between populism and

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recent forms of authoritarianism: Applebaum 2020, 2024. For the alt-right *nouvelle droite* and identitarian movements, and their reliance on Fascist ideas: Griffin 2000.

17. Interview with Faisal Islam on Sky News, 3 June 2016, www.skygroup.sky/article/eu-in-or-out-faisal-islam-interview-with-michael-gove-30616-8pm.
18. Braak 1937. For the sociological and politological discussion of contemporary European ethnopopulism in terms of 'resentment' and 'grievance' politics: Betz 1990 and 1993, Ivarsflaten 2008, Heitmeyer 2018.

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