

the period after 1805, Austria was led by two significant figures: Count Johann Philipp Stadion, the minister of foreign affairs, and Klemens von Metternich, who was initially ambassador to Paris. In 1813, through Metternich's diplomatic efforts, the monarchy changed sides and stood at the forefront of a victorious coalition led by Russia. Ingrao claims that Metternich had drawn up the declarations two years earlier, and the Congress of Vienna only confirmed them. These outcomes suggest a return to the balance of power that had existed before Napoleon. This was followed by a long period of reactions that would determine the fate of the monarchy a century later.

In the concluding chapter "Decline or Disaggregation" (p. 273–280), Ingrao provides some general thoughts about the reasons behind Austria's decline. There were attempts by the Habsburgs to homogenize its territories, but they were never completed. Ingrao argues that the monarchy survived its last century only because its survival was beneficial for the balance of power in Europe. Its collapse left a power vacuum that other Great Powers aspired to, including the Fascist states, the Soviet Union, the United States, and today the European Union.

Charles Ingrao's book, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, shows how the Habsburgs created a state that even today many still remember and are conscious of through the historical processes that gave it a shape in the nineteenth century that would endure until its final collapse in the First World War. Furthermore, it offers clear insight into the development of an empire in which different peoples were incorporated, who then began their own cultural development and later established themselves as nations.

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Steven Beller<sup>2</sup>, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018, 315 pp.

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Steven Beller's *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918* contains an introduction, conclusion, and seven chapters. In the introduction (p. 1–25), Beller asserts that Austria-Hungary collapsed in part because it was unable to resolve the national question. It is for this reason that he thinks it should be studied as a blend of different peoples and territories with different economic, social, and cultural foundations. The state's geographical position—between Eastern and Western Europe—naturally left it open to western, Baltic, and Mediterranean influences. Beller notes that the Habsburg Monarchy has been long and unfairly been dogged by the "black legend," which began spreading in the seventeenth century, mostly through Protestant thought. This legend held that the Habsburgs were perceived as strict Catholics and oppressors; it was not until later that well-founded criticism emerged concerning its unwillingness to resolve the national question as a reason for its demise.

In the first chapter "1815–1835: Restoration and Procrastination" (p. 25–54), Beller writes about Francis I and Clemens von Metternich's response to the new challenges facing the monarchy. France's defeat came at the right time for the Habsburgs because they again found themselves at the center of diplomacy. Beller also emphasizes that Metternich put foreign policy ahead of domestic policy. The regime's fear of revolution was created by secret associations such as the Carbonari in Italy that created a negative perception of the Metternich regime. Also during this period, there was a cultural direction that, by the end of the nineteenth century, would be referred to as the *Biedermeier*, during which there was an increased interest in German culture, particularly in cities such as Vienna and Prague. Other peoples lacking freedoms also concentrated on developing their own cultural

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<sup>2</sup> Steven Beller was born in London in 1958 to an English father and an Austrian mother. He studied history at the University of Cambridge, where he wrote his first book, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938*

(Cambridge 1989). In 1991, he moved to the United States, where he researches Jewish history and the history of Central Europe. Steven Beller, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918*, Cambridge 2018, 1.

institutions. It was through these efforts that different provinces in the monarchy defined their political nationalism.

Beller begins the second chapter, “1835-1851: Revolution and Reaction” (54–87), with the death of Francis I, a conservative ruler whose policies were not abandoned in the following period, which was characterized by Austria's continued decline abroad. According to Beller, this period of peace and industrial development influenced the genesis of political consciousness, regardless of widespread censorship. Beller argues that a serious commercial and economic crisis combined with burgeoning liberal political movements, and especially those in Hungary, led to the revolution of March 1848. The elites who launched the uprising in various provinces expressed loyalty to the dynasty but also a desire for political emancipation. The Habsburg court saw in this a danger of the state collapsing. In the spring of 1849, there were discussions in the Reichstag in Kremsier (now Kroměříž in the Czech Republic) about power being divided into three parts: a central part, parliaments for the historical provinces, and counties that would be divided along ethnic lines. However, Schwarzenberg and the emperor chose not to resolve the national problem, and, according to Beller, missed a historic chance. *The Sylvesterpatent*, enacted on New Year's Day 1851, contained three edicts annulling the full scope of the Revolution of 1848/49, with the exception of emancipating the peasants from their feudal obligations.

Beller begins the next chapter, “1852-1867: Transformation” (p. 87–128), with a biography of Franz Joseph. Born as Franz, he would later add the name Joseph upon his accession to the throne to send a clear message that he would rule as an absolutist, but he would follow the example of the eminent reformer Joseph II. He had a very conservative upbringing, which would later be reflected in the way he governed and in his understanding of imperial rule. The language of administration remained German, but there were no attempts at Germanization. The regime's influence was particularly visible in religion and economic. All of the regime's weakness would

rise to the surface after the Battles of Magenta and Solferino in 1859. Franz Joseph realized that his absolutism had lost its luster, and in 1869 the October Diploma was promulgated, which retained the emperor's prerogatives in foreign affairs and the army, but the rights the Hungarian Diet had during the *Vormärz* period were restored. Beller argues that a centralized monarchy thereby ceased to exist in 1860 rather than in 1867. The February Patent followed in 1861, which merged two of the most important issues: the emperor's desire to prevent full parliamentarism and to acknowledge the historical rights of the Crown of St. Stephen. After the Habsburg loss to Prussia in 1866, the most pressing issue became the resolution of the Hungarian question. Finally, in July 1867, dualism was established with a new name: Austria-Hungary. Hungary was united with Transylvania and joined with the Military Frontier, while Croatia preserved its autonomy. Beller points out that this dual solution neutralized the threat of federalism.

In the chapter, “1867-1879: Liberalisation” (p. 128–160), Beller points to the optimism in the Austrian half of the monarchy, despite the lack of full parliamentarism. At this time, in the Hungarian half, the concept of one political nation and the compulsory use of the Hungarian as the bureaucratic language began emerging. Equality before the law was proclaimed, which meant that every individual had the right to his or her own nationality. In Cisleithania, the Czech's dissatisfaction with the new system became an issue, given Bohemia's economic wealth. Attempts at federalization were spurned by the Hungarians, who believed that after Prussia's victory, they should not be so cavalier and self-assured as to grant autonomy to the Slavic peoples. In this, Gyula Andrassy led the charge. Certain Czech politicians such as František Palacký already saw this as a threat to Austria's survival. Beller explains that the economic crisis in Austria-Hungary in 1873 had a specific impact on the middle class, which led to new restrictions on rights. In Hungary, Kálmán Tisza renounced some of the more radical approaches to power and united his Left Center party with the ruling majority. At the same time, Andrassy decided to

occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, first so it would not be given constitutional standing, which would destroy dualism, and second so the number of Slavs in the monarchy would not increase significantly. The monarchy reoriented itself toward the Balkans after its suppression by central Europe and Italy.

The next chapter, “1879–1897: Nationalisation” (p. 160–192) deals with the liberalism from which nationalism emerged as the primary form of politics for the middle class. While the Czechs were given rights regarding their language, Tisza attempted to continue Magyarization, especially in Croatia through Ban Héderváry. Interestingly, the Hungarian liberals had somewhat different views regarding Jews, given they were the state's primary financiers. As a result, anti-Semitism was not so pronounced. It was, however, the foundation of Karl Lueger's Christian Social Party. As the Balkans became the main sphere of interest for Vienna, Franz Joseph relied on Germany, even though it was often an economic competitor. The second crisis occurred when the political faction the Young Czechs (left-wing radicals), were able to obtain a parliamentary majority over the German liberals and the moderate members of the Old Czechs. They immediately began agitating for the use of the Czech language, so that by 1901, if the Germans wished to maintain their positions in Bohemia, they would have to master it.

The penultimate chapter, “1897-1914: Modernisation” (p. 192–241) begins with the assertion that Austria-Hungary underwent modernization in tandem with political crisis. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it was apparent that Franz Joseph was attempting to implement full electoral reform and incorporate the broader masses. He believed peasants would be more loyal to the dynasty and the state than the nationalist middle classes. Apponyi's 1907 law, as the author argues, was completely chauvinistic toward other nationalities. Nevertheless, the country was economically on par with other western European states, which allowed it to dodge a more serious social crisis.

In this chapter, Beller also returns to the Bosnian question and the monarchy's awareness

that, after the coup of 1903, the Bosnian Serbs were trying to lean more heavily on Serbia. With the arrival of Karađorđević dynasty, Serbia ceased to be a client state of the Balhausplatz, which raised fears of it becoming a Russian protectorate in the Balkans, all to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire and the monarchy. In response, Austria-Hungary launched a trade war and imposed an embargo on livestock imports from Serbia; Belgrade, however, turned to Germany as an alternative. This continued after 1908 and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and after the Agram trial was launched based on forged documents, which compromised the state as being one of lawlessness.

Beller continues in the next chapter, “1914-1918: Self-Destruction” (p. 241–273), writing that today, there may be different perceptions about what caused the outbreak of the First World War, but choosing war was most certainly a decision made by Vienna. There were many in Vienna who believed that war was the only way to rally the country around a common cause and resolve the political crisis. Beller then argues that Franz Ferdinand had positive ideas about how to resolve the South Slavic question, while Emperor Karl wrestled with old problems. He may indeed have followed the liberal principle in reforming the monarchy and hoped for a constitution, yet doing so at the height of an oppressive regime had been a mistake. This then convinced the allies that only solution was the disintegration of Austria-Hungary based on nationality.

Finally, in “Conclusion: Central Europe and the Paths Not Taken” (p. 273–287), Beller writes that two peace treaties determined the fate of the dynasty: one in Saint-Germain and the other in Trianon. By taking territory from Hungary, this agreement created from it a nation-state. The states that emerged from the ruins of the monarchy, such as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, were multinational. The monograph concludes with the assertion that Vienna ultimately failed to create a single supranational identity, which was one of the reasons why the peoples of Austria-Hungary were so alienated from the dynasty and the state in the Great War.

*The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918* tells of this multi-ethnic state's final century. It could not meet the challenges brought by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, internally and externally. Unwillingness to completely emancipate nationalities within its system created deep dissatisfaction, which resulted in devastating consequences during the First World War. Within it, both the Habsburgs and Austria-Hungary disappeared from the political map of Europe.

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Goran Vasin<sup>3</sup> and Nenad Ninković<sup>4</sup>, *A History of the Karlovci Metropolitanate*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2022, 342 pp.

(Goran Vasin i Nenad Ninković, *Istorija Karlovačke mitropolije*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2022, 342 str. (Serbian Cyrillic))

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*A History of the Karlovci Metropolitanate*, written by Goran Vasin and Nenad Ninković, was published by Prometej as part of the series *Serbs Outside of Serbia Before the Collapse of Austria-Hungary*. It contains an introduction followed by four chapters, with period up to 1836 written by Ninković and the period after by Vasin.

The Introduction (p. 7–9) briefly presents the Karlovci Metropolitanate as one of the most important institutions for Serbs living in the Habsburg Monarchy. From the early eighteenth century until 1919, it witnessed or was involved in the most significant processes in Serbian history of the modern age, and it was the bearer of Serbian statehood.

In the chapter “A Framework for the History

of the Karlovci Metropolitanate” (p. 9–26), Ninković provides the historical context within which this institution was founded. It was an autonomous unit in the Patriarchate of Peć, whose dioceses in southern Hungary were mostly founded after its restoration in 1557. When the Great Turkish War resulted in a shift in the border between the Habsburgs Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, the Serbs who had sided with Vienna during the war migrated under the protection of Leopold I, who issued three Privileges granting them religious rights. Even though they had the same freedom to openly practice their faith as the Catholics, they nevertheless struggled for respect throughout the following century.

The second chapter, “From the Krušedol Assembly to the Reforms of Maria Theresa” (p. 29–109), explains how the institution of the metropolitanate was constructed and how it functioned. After the death of Patriarch Arsenije III, the national assemblies were the most important ecclesiastic and political courts of first instance the Serbs had. At the first such assembly, held in Krušedol in 1708, Isaija Đaković, the bishop who had led negotiations with Vienna and was responsible for the Serbs obtaining the Privileges, was selected as the patriarch's successor. His election depended on the hierarchy through an emphasis on canonical unity with the Patriarchate of Peć, which remained in place until 1766. Ninković states that a new stage for metropolitanate began with the Austro-Turkish War (1716–1718), which was followed by the formation of the Belgrade Archbishopric/Metropolitanate, which encompassed Banat and Serbia. The Karlovci and Belgrade Metropolitanates were two autonomous areas within the Patriarchate of Peć, and efforts to unify them begin in 1722. This was done in several stages. The first was in 1722 when

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